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8 August 1985

# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 7, May 1985

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8 August 1985

## USSR REPORT

### TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 7, May 1985

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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# INFORMATION REPORT ON CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

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p 3

[Text] A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on 23 April 1985. A report "On Convening the Regular 27th CPSU Congress and Tasks Connected With Its Preparation and Conduct" was delivered at the plenum by M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Participating in discussion of this question were Comrades V. U. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V. V. Grishin, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; D. A. Kunayev, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee; V. I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; E. A. Shevardnadze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; L. N. Zaykov, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom; Ye. I. Klimchenko, instrument fitter of the Minskiy Traktorny Zavod imeni Lenina Production Association; K. G. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; A. P. Filatov, first secretary of the Novosibirsk CPSU Obkom; V. K. Mesyats, USSR minister of agriculture; A. V. Vlasov, first secretary of the Rostov CPSU Obkom; P. N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and B. V. Blamont, minister of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the report of M. S. Gorbachev, which is being published in the press.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum reviewed organizational questions.

The plenum transferred Comrade V. M. Chebrikov from candidate member to member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and elected CPSU Central Committee secretaries Comrades Ye. K. Ligachev and N. I. Ryzhkov, members of the Central Committee Politburo.

The Central Committee plenum elected Comrade S. L. Sokolov, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR minister of defense as candidate member of the

Central Committee Politburo; V. P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, was elected a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

With this the CPSU Central Committee Plenum completed its work.

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ON CONVENING THE 27th CPSU CONGRESS AND THE TASKS RELATED TO ITS PREPARATIONS  
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pp 4-20

[Report by CPSU Central Committee Secretary M. S. Gorbachev at the CPSU  
Central Committee 23 April 1985 Plenum]

[Text] Comrades: Our party, the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist  
countries and all of progressive mankind festively marked the 115th  
anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin yesterday.

The whole of life and the entire course of history convincingly confirms the  
great correctness of the Leninist doctrine. It has been and remains for us a  
manual for action, a source of inspiration and a reliable compass in  
determining the strategy and tactics of forward movement.

Lenin taught communists to base themselves in everything on the interests of  
the working people, to scrutinize life deeply, to evaluate social phenomena  
realistically and from class positions and to be engaged in a constant  
creative search for the best ways of implementing the ideals of communism.

Today we are checking our deeds and plans against Lenin and his great ideas  
and we are living and working in accordance with Lenin's behests.

Our plenum is to examine questions of great political importance: on the  
convocation of the next, 27th CPSU Congress, and the tasks connected with its  
preparation and holding.

The Politburo moves the proposal, in accordance with the CPSU bylaws, to  
convene the next party congress on 25 February 1986. It is proposed to put  
the following items on the agenda of the congress:

1. Report by the CPSU Central Committee on the party's tasks;
2. Report by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission;
3. On the new draft of the CPSU program;

4. On amendments in CPSU bylaws;

5. On the Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the 1986-1990 Period and for the Period Up to the Year 2000;

6. Elections to the party's central bodies.

Appropriate reports will be heard and discussed on the reports submitted by the CPSU Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission, and also on the question of the basic directions for economic and social development. As for the new draft of the program and the changes in the CPSU bylaws, their essence is included in the Central Committee report and individual reports can be dispensed with.

It is proposed to elect one delegate to the congress for each 3,670 communists, that is, a total of 5,000 people. This will make it possible to represent well all our party's organizations and to reflect its social and national composition.

In the 10 months remaining before the congress, a comprehensive analysis and realistic assessment must be made of the results of all that has been done since the 26th Congress; the prospects for further development and domestic and foreign policy tasks must be determined. Very important documents must be prepared, above all such fundamental ones as a new draft of the CPSU program and the main directions of development during the next five-year plan and to the end of this century. They must be examined at the CPSU Central Committee plenum and then be widely discussed in the party and the country. A great deal of attention will have to be devoted to carrying out accountability and election meetings in party organizations on a high level and to completing the 11th Five-Year Plan in a worthy manner.

In short, it will be a period of strenuous and multifaceted work--political, economic, organizational and ideological-theoretical.

Today we again confirm the continuity of the strategic policy elaborated by the 26th Party Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums. In the Leninist understanding, continuity means unwavering forward movements, identifying and solving new problems and eliminating anything that hinders development. We must rigorously follow this Leninist tradition, enriching and developing our party policy and our overall course toward perfecting the society of developed socialism.

The forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress will indisputably be a milestone in the country's development. Its significance is determined by the paramount importance of the issues submitted for discussion, the nature of the present period and the newness and scale of the tasks facing society. This adds a special tone to all of the party's pregress work and demands profound understanding of the existing situation, bold decisions and vigorous activity.

The country has achieved great successes in all fields of social life. On the basis of the advantages of the new system, it has ascended to the summits of economic and social progress in a short historical period. The Soviet Union



today has a powerful and comprehensively developed economy and skilled cadres of workers, specialists and scientists. In many areas of production and scientific and technological development we firmly hold the leading position in the world.

Profound changes have taken place in social life. For the first time in history, working people have become masters of the country, makers of their own destiny. The guaranteed right to work and be rewarded for it, society's concern for a person from birth to extreme old age, broad access to spiritual culture, respect for the dignity and the rights of the individual and the steady expansion of workers' participation in government are permanent values, inalienable features of the socialist way of life. They contain a most important source of political stability, social optimism and confidence in the future.

The Soviet people are rightly proud of all this. However, life and its dynamism dictate the necessity of further changes and transformations, the achievement of a new qualitative condition of society and moreover in the broadest sense of the word. This involves, above all, the scientific and technical updating of production and reaching the highest world level of labor productivity; the improvement of social and, above all, economic relations; profound changes in the sphere of work and of material and spiritual conditions in people's lives; the energizing of the entire system of political and social institutions and the strengthening of socialist democracy and self-government by the people.

The development of Soviet society will to a decisive degree be determined by qualitative shifts in the economy, by transferring it into the path of intensive growth, by the comprehensive raising of efficiency. It is precisely from these positions that conditions in the national economy must be appraised and tasks must be determined for the future.

We know that alongside successes achieved in the economic development of the country, unfavorable trends have increased and many difficulties have arisen in recent years. Thanks to the active work of the party, beginning in 1983 the work of many links in the national economy was tightened up and the situation has been improved somewhat. However, the difficulties have been far from overcome. We have yet to apply great efforts in order to create a reliable basis for fast forward movement.

What is the cause of the difficulties? The answer to this question has, as you understand, principled significance for the party.

The influence of natural and a number of other outside factors has of course had an effect, but it seems that the main reason is that changes in the objective conditions of the development of production and the necessity for speeding up its intensification and for changes in methods of management were not appraised in the required way at the right time and, what is particularly important, there was no persistence displayed in the elaboration and implementation of major measures in the economic sphere. Comrades, we must take cognizance of the situation as it has come about, profoundly and thoroughly and draw most serious conclusions. The historic fate of the



country and the positions of socialism in the modern world depend to a large extent on how we manage things from now on. By making the forms of socialist economic management consistent with contemporary conditions and demands, we should achieve a considerable speeding up of social and economic progress. There is simply no other way.

This is what determines the success of the cause of socialism and communism today and the great responsibility that is laid upon the party, its Central Committee, and all party organizations in the present extremely important segment of history. We communists must do everything in order to be equal to this responsibility and to the great tasks dictated by the times.

The main issue now is how and by what means will the country be able to achieve an acceleration of economic development. In reviewing this issue in the Politburo we unanimously came to the conclusion that there are real opportunities to achieve this. The tasks for accelerating the growth rate and by a considerable degree are quite achievable if the intensification of the economy and the speeding up of scientific and technical progress are placed in the center of all of our work, if management and planning are restructured, if the structural and investment policy is restructured, if the level of organization and discipline is raised everywhere and the style of activity is radically improved.

I think that the plenum participants will support such a conclusion. A relatively rapid return can be obtained if one puts into use organizational-economic and social reserves and if, in the first instance, one puts the human factor into action and ensures that everyone in their place works conscientiously and wholeheartedly.

How great the opportunities here are was related at the recent conference held with workers, economic leaders, specialists and scientists in the CPSU Central Committee. The participants in that conference noted that when the need arises by the collectives' virtue alone and their leaders' pulling themselves together and beginning to work better, they manage in a short time to raise labor productivity to an extent that is at times comparable with the tasks planned for a whole 5-year period.

Such reserves exist at each enterprise, building site, kolkhoz and sovkhoz. No one knows them better than the labor collectives themselves, their party organizations and their economic leaders. Consequently, much depends on their attitude toward their work, their energy, and their ability to get people interested in the maximum use of all possibilities for increasing production and raising its efficiency.

An important side of the question of responsibility and discipline are timely and well-executed procurements of raw material, fuel, assembly components, movement of freightcars and so on. There are people who have something to answer for on this account. A certain progress in strengthening contract discipline in the national economy has been noted. It must be consolidated, steadily raising exactingness in fulfillment of contractual obligations, without any allowances for objective conditions.

Another reserve that should be resolutely tackled is the fight against waste and losses. The leaders of many ministries and enterprises are trying to "wrest" a bit more capital investment, machine tools and machines, raw material and fuel from the state. At the same time, they are frequently irresponsible in their attitude to their efficient use. The existing equipment sometimes stands idle or is not used to the fullest extent.

What is happening in capital construction? Many projects take an inordinately long time to complete. As a result, quite a lot of material wealth is immobilized, the growth of capacity is delayed and the country does not receive the necessary production on time.

The plan for commissioning of basic capital assets is not being fulfilled satisfactorily. At warehouses of enterprises and new construction sites quite a lot of uninstalled equipment has accumulated. There are considerable direct losses of material resources as a result of negligence in transportation, storage and dispensing of cement, coal, mineral fertilizers, timber, agricultural produce and foodstuffs.

Such wastefulness must be ended without delay. Obviously, we cannot get by on slogans alone. There have been more than enough of them. Extra demands, including legislative ones, must be made on specific persons for the safekeeping and correct use of all material wealth. The necessary order must be introduced at every enterprise and construction site, on kolkhoz and sovkhoz, in each organization. Without this there can be no question of any efficient management or growth of economic efficiency.

As a main strategic lever for intensification of the national economy and better use of accumulated potential, the party brings the task of radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress to the forefront. In June the CPSU Central Committee plans to hold a special conference at which this question will be discussed. Today I would like to voice certain fundamental considerations.

In the majority of industries scientific and technical progress is flagging; it is developing basically in an evolutionary manner, primarily by improving existing technology and the partial modernization of machinery and equipment. Of course, these measures provide a certain return, but it is too small. What we need is revolutionary change, a conversion to fundamentally new technological systems, to the most up-to-date machinery to provide the highest efficiency. Essentially it is a matter of reequipping all sectors of the national economy on the basis of contemporary achievements in science and technology.

The acuteness of the question is also dictated by the fact that of late the country's production apparatus has aged considerably. The coefficient of renovation of fixed assets has been lowered. In the 12th Five-Year Plan the prime concern must be a substantial rise in the coefficient equipment replacement.

Machine building has the decisive word here. It is necessary to give priority to developing it, and to speed up by 50 to 100 percent the rates of the

sector's growth in the 12th Five-Year Plan. The main task is a speedy transition to producing new generations of machines and equipment that are capable of ensuring the introduction of progressive technology, of raising labor productivity severalfold, lowering material intensiveness and raising the output-capital ratio. Prime attention must be paid to improving machine-tool manufacturing, accelerating the development of computer hardware, instrument making and electrical engineering and electronics as catalysts for scientific and technical progress.

In light of these tasks, lowering the prestige of engineering work must not be considered normal. Not everything is in order here, and we must enhance the role and prestige of foremen, engineers, designers and technology experts and improve the material and moral incentives for their labor.

Accelerating scientific and technical progress and increasing production efficiency are inseparable from a decisive improvement in product quality. The failure to meet contemporary technical-economic, aesthetic and all consumer requirements, and the existence of sometimes even obviously faulty goods, is in essence a theft of material resources and a waste of our people's labor. This is why an all-around rise in product quality must be at the center of economic policy. Quality, and quality again--that is our slogan today. Having solved the problem of quality, it is also possible to solve the problem of quantity. This is the only reliable way of ever more fully satisfying the country's requirements for modern machinery, the population's growing demand for various goods and overcoming shortfalls in the national economy.

Whichever question we consider and from whichever aspect we approach the economy, in the final analysis everything rests upon the need to seriously improve the administration of the economic machinery as a whole. I became convinced of this once again during the recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with workers and economic managers, and also while visiting the ZIL plant. Participants in these meetings spoke with great concern of how it pained them that work conditions have been worsened because of imperfections in management, trivial regulations and excessive paper-pushing. There is one way out of the situation: immediate and energetic measure are needed in the entire complex of management problems.

The concept of restructuring the economic machinery has become clearer to us now. While further developing centralized principles in solving strategic tasks, we must move forward more boldly along the path of extending the rights of enterprises and their independence; introduce cost accounting and, on this basis, raise the responsibility and motivation of labor collectives for final results of their work.

The results of a large-scale experiment that is being carried out in this direction are not at all bad, but they cannot provide complete satisfaction. A line has been reached where we must cross over from the experiment to creating an integrated system of economic management and administration. This means that we should also begin practically restructuring the work of the upper echelons in economic management; we should direct them first and foremost toward solving long-term social, economic and scientific-



technological tasks in the search for the most effective forms of combining science and production.

Life is presenting greater demands on planning, which is the core of management. It must become an active lever for intensifying production and implementing progressive economic decisions. It must ensure balanced and dynamic economic growth. At the same time, the plans of associations and enterprises must be relieved of their abundance of indicators. Wider use must be made of economic standards that open up space for initiative and enterprise.

It is time to begin perfecting the organizational structures of management, to eliminate superfluous links, simplify the apparatus and raise its efficiency. It is also important to do this because certain links in the administration have turned into an obstacle and have begun to hinder progress. We must sharply restrict the number of instructions, provisions and method rules, which, at times, interpret the decisions of the party and the government capriciously and paralyze the independence of enterprises.

It is extremely important to make all primary work units and all individual workers aware of the principles of cost accounting. This will make it possible to combine the measures aimed at improving the system of management from above with the development of collective forms of labor organization and labor incentives from below and to raise the activeness of the working people.

It is just as important to raise the responsibility of republic and local bodies in the management of economic and sociocultural building and in satisfying the requirements of the working people. Naturally, to do this, it is necessary to continue to expand the rights of local bodies, to step up their initiative and interest in production development, utilizing resources and in putting right the whole range of services for the population. Consequently, full responsibility should be borne locally for solving all the questions that relate to their area of jurisdiction and the feeling dependency must be got rid of faster.

Comrades, the CPSU sees the highest sense of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development in raising the people's prosperity steadily, step by step, in improving all aspects of life of the Soviet people and in creating favorable conditions for a harmonious development of the individual. In this connection, it is necessary to consistently pursue a line aimed at consolidating social justice in the distribution of material and spiritual wealth, at strengthening the influence that social factors have on the development of the economy and on raising its efficiency.

This line meets with the complete approval and support of the Soviet people. The task now is to work out concrete and effective measures to purge the distribution mechanism of wage-leveling, unearned incomes and all that runs counter to the economic norms and moral ideals of our society and to ensure that the material situation of each worker and each collective depend directly on the results of their work. The party will continue to wage a most resolute struggle against all negative phenomena that are alien to the socialist way of life and our communist morality.

Currently, the social program the party will put forward at its 27th Congress is being carefully worked out. There are, however, urgent tasks that require particular attention.

This relates, above all, to implementing the Food Program. Positive changes have taken place in the development of agriculture over the past few years; supplies of foodstuffs to the population have improved somewhat. However, this is still a long way from what is needed. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes and processing enterprises have the potential to considerably increase the production of foodstuffs. It is necessary to manage this potential carefully and to make use of it more efficiently.

One sometimes comes across attempts by local bodies to place all the responsibility of food supplies, and especially provision of feed, on the central bodies. Such a practice is unacceptable. The task is to more fully utilize all reserves in increasing food production both in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and on private plots of citizens enterprises.

In general, comrades, we have to intensify work on fulfilling the Food Program and to supplement it with serious measures to develop processing industries in the agroindustrial complex and bring their enterprises closer to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Such instructions were given by the Politburo to the USSR Gosplan and relevant ministries, and they should approach the fulfillment of them in an entirely responsible and thorough manner.

It is also necessary to improve the management of the agroindustrial complex. Far from everything has been done here. Under the influence of departmental interests, rayon and oblast associations are often unable to properly solve in coordination the issues of the integral development of agriculture and related sectors. If we are firmly convinced that there should be one master on the land and that the agroindustrial associations bear full responsibility for fulfilling the Food Program, a fact I think nobody doubts, it is necessary to carry out measures that will make it possible to manage, plan and finance the agroindustrial complex as a single entity at all levels. That is what we agreed upon at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

A lot must be done to more fully satisfy demand for industrial goods and services, to supply the market with the needed products, to make sure the market is satisfied, to improve the quality and range of goods produced, to make the price system more flexible and to improve the standards of retailing. The integral program of developing consumer goods production and services is directed toward solving these tasks. It envisages substantial increases in the production of high-quality clothes and shoes, modern cultural and domestic goods and household appliances and developing many types of services.

This program will be adopted in the near future. At the same time, as you know, Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions have already been adopted on a number of its directions. We are talking about increasing the production of shoes, developing local industry, services in repairing and building housing and improving telephone communication services to the

populace. It is important that the Soviet people sense a change for the better in the near future.

We cannot fail to take account of the changes taking place in the structure of solvent demand. The working people want to use their income to a greater extent to improve their living, cultural and domestic conditions, for leisure, tourism and other purposes. Such demands and requirements must be more fully satisfied. This is beneficial to the state as well. However, in this instance the possibilities are being poorly used. Let us take, for example, such a specific question as the development of orchard and allotment associations. This is a highly beneficial project. There is a broad interest shown in it. However, so far it has not been developed properly. The requirement for allotments and huts, building materials and tools, are far from being fully met. After discussing this question in great detail, the Politburo ordered that appropriate measures be taken, so as to go as far as possible towards meeting the demands of the people and removing unwarranted obstacles.

Areas such as health care and public education are taking on ever greater significance in the life of society and of each individual, and therefore in the social policy of the party as well. We have achieved much in their development. We have ensured equal access by all citizens to these vitally important benefits. However, here, too, new problems are arising today.

A substantial improvement, from the standpoint of today's demands, is needed in the material-technical base of health care, the quality of medical care and the supply of medicines to the populace. The need for taking serious measures in this field was recently the subject of discussion in the Politburo. Provision must be made for them in the 12th Five-Year Plan.

We have begun a school reform, whose significance for the future of the country is difficult to overestimate. Not a formalist but a meaningful approach to the tasks set must be adopted, along with a fundamental improvement in the quality of training and education of the rising generations, and their training for socially useful work.

There are also numerous other questions that should be thoroughly considered, and for which solutions should be found. These are: improving the material situation of labor veterans, especially of those who went into well-deserved retirement long ago; the living conditions of young families; and maternity and child care. Of course, it is important to continue building up efforts in resolving such social problems as housing, in order, in the long term, to guarantee every family a separate apartment or a well-appointed house.

In everything concerning man, his work, material well-being and leisure, we should be as attentive as possible. This is a key policy question for us.

Now, on the current affairs associated with the fulfillment of the year's plan. We were not off to an entirely good start. Industrial output rose by no more than 2 percent in the first quarter. Oil, metal, power engineering and transport fell substantially back. Growth rates in labor productivity dropped. The situation is not much better in production costs, profits and



other indices. The situation is being rectified somewhat in April, but efforts must be redoubled in order to make up the loss in the remaining 8 months. Let us speak plainly: it is not an easy task, but the matter is like this--the 1985 plan must be fulfilled, and this must be done without any kind of corrections. It is at this that socialist competition and all organizing and political work must be aimed.

There are responsible tasks facing the workers in the countryside. Work must be carried out so as to please the country with high results.

At the same time it still remains to provide a qualitative elaboration of the plan for the coming year and the 12th Five-Year Plan as a whole. For this it would be expedient to pass on control figures and norms to the ministries, departments, associations and enterprises in the near future. This will enable us to more fully take account of the proposals of workers' collectives for harnessing reserves and, as of the beginning of next year, and most importantly, to begin the new 12th Five-Year Plan in an organized and energetic fashion.

Comrades, solving complex and large-scale tasks of the current stage, which touch on all facets of our life, is only possible by relying on the lively creativity of the people, on its intelligence, talent and work. We must raise millions of working people to implement them, constantly develop the initiative and energy of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, bring into motion those inexhaustible possibilities at the disposal of socialist society and more actively support all useful initiatives.

Lenin's party, the party of communists, has always marched in the vanguard of the people. Today it is called on to head the movement of all the people for speeding up the social and economic development of the country. This requires that the struggle for achieving immediate and long-term goals be taken up by each party organization and each communist.

Preparation for the congress, the forthcoming reports and the elections must comprehensively contribute to an upsurge in the activity and responsibility of communists, the strengthening of the fighting ability of party organizations, the consolidation of their links with the masses and, in the final analysis, the enhancement of the leading role of the party.

The accountability and election campaign will begin with the primary organizations, which are the party's main potential. It is here that party policy is embodied in real deeds. It is here that our successes and shortcomings, our opportunities and reserves are especially clearly visible.

This is why it is so important that at their meetings the communists should review the results of what has been done in a Leninist manner, without false idealization and empty debate, and gather together positive experience bit by bit, expose shortcomings fearlessly and pinpoint opportunities and specific ways of raising production and economic efficiency and improving matters.

It is the duty of party committees to display maximal concern to ensure that meetings of primary organizations take place in a businesslike way, in an

atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism and bolshevik frankness, to ensure that awkward questions in the life of collectives and ways of eliminating everything that holds up the work are discussed. It is essential to ensure that every party member can make full use of his statutory right to make proposals and to criticize and to ensure that not a single critical utterance is ignored.

The question of strengthening order and discipline is especially topical today. This is a pressing contemporary requirement, which the Soviet people interpret in a broad way. In it they include order in production and the services area, in public life and away from work, in each labor unit and in every town and village. We will make every effort to ensure that order of this kind is strengthened in the country.

Life has shown what unanimous approval the people have given to measures to impose order and what weighty results these measures are producing. However, it has to be bluntly stated that of late the attention given to this most important question has lessened somewhat. In this respect it is, above all, leaders of collectives, bearing personal responsibility for discipline, who must be brought more rigorously to account. There are frequent instances where enterprise managers forgive indiscipline in workers, hoping that subordinates will in turn forgive their own blunders. We will not tolerate such a mentality of mutual forgiveness.

In order to strengthen discipline and order, another indispensable condition is essential: Each individual must deal with his own responsibility and conscientiously meet his own direct commitments. Substantial results cannot be achieved in any sphere of activities while the party worker takes over from the economic manager, while an engineer does the work of a messenger, while a scientist works at a vegetable collection site and a textile worker at a livestock farm. Unfortunately, that is often the case today. It goes without saying that such a situation did not come about overnight. In some cases it is the result of well-known difficulties. It cannot be rectified in a single day, but it must be rectified. Only then will we really be able to get rid of irresponsibility and lack of discipline.

Stricter demands should be made on the tone, efficiency and exactingness of the forthcoming rayon, city, oblast and kray party conferences and the union republic communist party congresses. There must be no place at them, as sometimes happens, for eulogies and compliments, or attempts to conceal behind general words the essence of the matter, to lay the blame for shortcomings on objective circumstances or departmental misunderstandings.

We intend that the leading cadres, Central Committee members, and heads of ministries and departments will take direct part not just in the party conferences but also in the meetings of primary organizations and do everything to ensure that the precongress collective discussions among communists should take place at the highest constructive and critical level.

The main slogans of the moment, which must be made the leitmotif of our precongress meetings, and the whole of the preparation for the 27th Party Congress are creative labor, unity of word and deed, initiative and

responsibility and exactingness towards oneself and one's comrades. The example here must be set by communists. We must intensify the demands made on every party member regarding his attitude toward public duty, fulfillment of party decisions and the honesty and purity of the party member. A communist is assessed according to his actions and deeds; there are no other criteria, nor can there be.

During the reports and elections the leading party bodies will have to be formed and replenished with fresh forces and cadre questions that have come to a head will have to be resolved. The recently held plenums of party committees convincingly showed what mature cadres the party has at its disposal. At the same time, they confirmed once again the need most strictly to observe the Leninist principles of selection, deployment and education of cadres. Where these principles are violated, where the promotion of workers is allowed on the basis of personal loyalty, servility or protectionism, there inevitably sets in a dampening of criticism and self-criticism and a weakening of the links with the masses and, as a result, failures in the work.

The Politburo considers it fundamentally important to continue implementing the course of ensuring stability in party leadership and the correct combination of experience with young workers. However, this cannot be accompanied by any kind of stagnation in the advancement of cadres. In their letters to the Central Committee, communists draw attention to the fact that certain leaders, who occupy positions for a long time, frequently cease to see the new and get used to shortcomings. There is something to think about here: We must search for ways for the more active movement of our leading cadres; we must promote women and promising young workers to responsible posts with greater boldness.

There is another important conclusion prompted by the party committee plenums that have been held: Not a single party organization, not a single worker should be left outside the system of control. At meetings of the Politburo or the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat over the past 2 years, reports have been submitted on one question or another by first secretaries of central committees of communist parties of many union republics and of party kray and oblast committees; reports have been heard from leaders of a number of primary party organizations, raykoms, gorkoms and many ministries and departments. Such work, naturally, must be continued in the future and must be actively developed in republics, krays and oblasts. This is in line with the rules of our intraparty life.

As we have now touched on control, there is, then, another consideration I would like to voice: Checking is necessary, control is essential and every check must bring practical benefit and serve the interests of the matter at hand. However, there can be scant justification for repeated checks on one and the same, sometimes trivial, matter, or for the numerous commissions set up out of formalistic considerations, which take people away from their work and generate an atmosphere of nervousness.

Accountability meetings, conferences and congresses provide an opportunity for a comprehensive assessment of the activities of elected party bodies and a detailed look into the content and method of their work. Emphasis here must



be placed primarily on an analysis of how they deal with key questions concerning the life and labor of people and production collectives and the development of the economy and of culture and how they conduct organizational work among the masses. It is essential to persistently follow the line of daily providing objective assistance to lower party organizations, of getting things done in a more businesslike and expeditious way, reducing the flow of paperwork and overcoming bureaucratic styles of work and fondness for numerous meetings and conferences.

It needs to be said forthrightly that far from everything has been done in countering these phenomena. There is no shortage of examples of this. Not so long ago, the CPSU Central Committee heard reports from the Kalinin and Tselinograd obkoms on the development of the agroindustrial complex. Serious deficiencies came to light in the party management of the economy as concerns cadres and education work and in the activities of the obkom bureau and secretaries. The main thing that gave rise to the deficiencies here was an uncritical attitude toward accomplishments, an inclination to exaggerate results achieved and a reluctance to draw attention to negative phenomena. Appropriate measures had to be taken.

Certain heads of ministries and departments remain attached to the old approaches in leadership and lack of self-criticism. This is hindering matters. Life itself places on the agenda the need for a decisive improvement in work and for bringing it into line with the demands of the present stage of social development.

It no longer suffices today merely to be able to take executive action, although at times there is not enough of this either. The significance of such businesslike qualities as competence, a sense of what is new, initiative, boldness, a readiness to take on responsibility for oneself, the ability to set a task and to see it through to the end and the ability not to lose sight of the political meaning of management is growing increasingly. As also, I would say, is the desire to learn how to work.

An important task of the accountability and election campaign is to further intensify party leadership of the soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and other links in our political system and all work involved in developing Soviet democracy.

We should always remember Lenin's idea that socialist democracy should never be interpreted in an abstract way; it has been and remains a tool for developing the economy, for the growth of man's activeness and for the communist education of the masses. It is precisely in this key that the party, in intensifying the democratic nature of the Soviet system, has worked and will continue to work.

Preparations for the party's 27th Congress and discussions by the working people of the draft congress documents will undoubtedly stir up much activity among the Soviet people. Party committees are to take great care to ensure publicity and the work of channels of communication with the masses, and the degree of attention paid to public opinion, critical remarks and the statements and letters of citizens. The CPSU Central Committee sees them as

being of great assistance in its work and a clear indication of the Soviet people's interest in the affairs of their state.

The tasks of the party's political-educational and ideological work have been discussed more than once in the Central Committee. Attention to this sector is understandable and progress has indeed been made, but I believe that by no means has all been done to ensure that ideological work is connected with life in the closest possible way. Formalism and mere exhortations continue to get in the way; damage is often done by idle talk and an inability to address people in the language of truth. At times it happens that a person hears one thing and in reality sees something else. This is a serious question, not just educational, but political as well.

Ideological-political education in all its forms must be fully connected with the main task of our time--acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. This cannot be obtained without comprehensively taking account of the totality of conditions of domestic life and the specifics of the international situation. You know that last December's all-union practical science conference was devoted to precisely these questions; it discussed the course of fulfilling the decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. One could recall once again today, and this should not appear paradoxical to anyone, that in propaganda and ideological work as a whole, there should also be fewer words and more deeds.

Particular mention should be made of the work of the mass information media--from plant and rayon to the central media. The press, television and radio are effective means of organizing and educating the masses and shaping public opinion. There have been positive changes in their work lately. However, life demands something more.

The information media are called upon to analyze events and phenomena profoundly, to raise serious questions and propose ways of resolving them; to convince through their substance, expeditiousness and informativeness. The wise words of the party, addressed to man, awaken thoughts and develop the initiative of people while fostering intolerance toward shortcomings. The effectiveness of the press, television and radio rises significantly when the party committees give them active aid and support. It is necessary only that this aid and support should always be timely and substantial. Of course, any attempts to suppress or ignore well-founded criticism should receive a principled party evaluation.

Literature and art play a great role in enriching the spiritual life of society with new values and the ideological and moral enhancement of the Soviet person. The artistic intelligentsia--writers, poets, composers, artists and workers in the cinema and the theater--enjoy high prestige and recognition. However, from this also springs their enormous responsibility to society. All the best works of Soviet literature and art have always been inseparable from the main causes and concerns of the party and the people. There is no doubt either that the new tasks being resolved today will find a worthy response in artistic creations which assert the truth of socialist life.

Comrades, we are on the threshold of the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism. Recalling the inconceivably gigantic price paid for the victory by the Soviet people and the other peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition, again and again returning to the tragedy that befell mankind, the communist party and the Soviet government see the main meaning of their foreign policy activity in preventing a repetition of anything similar, and, all the more so, not permitting a nuclear catastrophe.

The Soviet Union and our party have been and will remain unswervingly true to the sacred memory of the immortal deed of the peoples who overcame fascism.

The Soviet Union declares again and again that it will firmly follow the Leninist course of peace and peaceful coexistence, determined by our social system, our morality and world outlook. We stand for regular, correct--if you like--civilized relations between states, based on genuine respect for the norms of international law. However, it must be absolutely clear that only if imperialism renounces attempts to resolve the historic argument between two social systems by military means can international relations be successfully directed into a channel of normal cooperation.

The cohesive community of socialist states, its economic and defense might and its parity of action in the international arena, are an insuperable force in the struggle for the peaceful future of mankind. The achievement of military-strategic balance with the members of the aggressive NATO bloc is an exceptionally important historic gain for the fraternal countries of socialism. This parity must be cared for by all possible means, for the sake of peace. It reliably deters the aggressive appetites of imperialism.

Nor shall we in the future spare any effort to ensure that the USSR armed forces have all that is required to reliably defend our fatherland and its allies, so that nobody will be able to catch us unawares.

Mankind today has at its disposal a vast potential for peace, multifaceted experience and sufficient historical and social perspective to understand where a policy of aggression can lead. This understanding unites peace-loving forces ever more closely. It activates antiwar and antinuclear movements and raises more and more progressive, democratic detachments for the struggle against the threat of war. Nobody should be surprised that Washington's egoistic militaristic course is arousing increasing criticism and resistance in many countries. A tremendous contribution to the common cause of the struggle for peace is being made by communist and workers' parties, trade unions and other mass public organizations.

No nation on earth wants war. This unwillingness is a source of huge reserves and potential for carrying out the policy of peace and progress. Everything should be done to prevent the forces of militarism and aggression from gaining the upper hand in international relations.

We are convinced that it is possible to prevent global war. However, as experience shows, the struggle for preserving peace and securing comprehensive security is not an easy task. It demands more and more effort. Through the imperialists' fault the international situation continues to be alarming and



dangerous. Mankind is facing a choice; either the further fanning of tension and confrontation, or a constructive search for the mutually acceptable accords that would halt the process of material preparation for a nuclear conflict.

Responsibility for the existing situation lies, first of all, with the ruling circles of the United States, and this should be stated most clearly. They continue to be the initiators of the arms race and to sabotage disarmament, a fact of which the world community is well aware. On their initiative, more and more types of mass annihilation weapons are created. Now they are trying to extend the arms race to space. Hundreds of U.S. military bases scattered all over the world also destabilize the world situation.

The United States openly claims the "right" to interfere everywhere; it ignores, and often directly tramples underfoot, the interests of other countries and peoples, traditions of international relations and existing treaties and agreements. It constantly creates hotbeds of conflicts and military danger, heating up the situation in various parts of the world. Today the United States is threatening the heroic people of Nicaragua with military reprisal, trying to deny them freedom and sovereignty, as was the case in Grenada. Solidarity with forces of progress and democracy, with the countries and peoples fighting for their freedom and independence and against the onslaught of reaction, is a matter of principle for us. Here our line is as clear as it always was.

One does not need any particular political vision in order to see how imperialism has intensified its subversive work and coordinated its activities against socialist states in the course of the last few years. This applies to all areas: political, economic, ideological and military. In the documents of the fraternal parties it has been repeatedly stressed that imperialism is trying to secure social revenge on the widest possible front, both as regards the socialist community and against countries liberated from colonial oppression, national-liberation movements and the working people of capitalist countries.

There is a broadening and intensification of the economic expansion of the United States. The manipulation of interest rates, the predatory role of multinational corporations, political trade restrictions and all sorts of boycotts and sanctions are creating an atmosphere of tension and distrust in international economic relations, disorganizing world economy and trade and undermining its legal foundations. There is increased exploitation of former colonial countries and a blocking of their economic decolonialization process. Concentrating in its hands a growing amount of the financial and material resources of other countries, the United States directly or indirectly puts them into the service of its gigantic military programs.

Under these circumstances, ever-growing interest is aroused in the world by the idea of drafting and implementing measures to normalize international economic relations and to ensure economic security for countries.

The complexity of the international situation and the acute tension, oblige us to continue to award the questions of foreign policy priority significance.

A task of ever increasing importance is the comprehensive, improvement and enriching of cooperation and the development of all-embracing links with the fraternal countries of socialism, the promotion of their close interaction in political, economic, ideological, defense and other areas, concern for the organic combination of national and international interests of all participants in the great community.

The agenda for the joint work of the fraternal countries includes putting into practice the decision of the economic summit conference of the CEMA member countries that took place in June of last year. This is now urgently demanded by the common interests of the community and the requirements of each state's social and economic development and the specifics of the international situation.

The exchange of opinions that we had in the middle of March with the leaders of the parties and states of the Warsaw Pact members makes it possible to confidently affirm that we are united in the opinion that the Warsaw Pact will continue to have, as long as the NATO bloc exists, an important role to play in the defense of the positions of socialism in Europe and the world and to serve as a reliable instrument for preventing nuclear war and strengthening international security.

Purposefully and persistently, the Soviet Union will strengthen mutual ties and develop cooperation with other socialist countries including the People's Republic of China. Our stance on this question is known. It remains in force.

We are advocating the further expansion of many-sided cooperation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The CPSU and the Soviet state invariably support the right of all peoples, in accordance with their own choice, to determine their own socioeconomic present and to build their future without any outside interference whatsoever. Attempting to refuse the peoples this sovereign right is a hopeless and doomed undertaking.

We invariably advocate the development of normal and equal relations with capitalist countries. Vexing problems and conflict situation should be solved by political means--such is our firm conviction.

The Politburo proceeds from the fact that the intergovernmental documents of the period of detente, including the Helsinki Final Act, have not lost their significance. They are an example of how international relations can be built, based on the principles of equality and identical security and on the realities that have arisen in the world, if one does not strive for any advantage, but looks for mutually acceptable solutions and accords. In connection with the 10th anniversary of the European Security and Cooperation Conference it would appear useful if, on behalf of the signatories of the Final Act, the will were expressed once again in Helsinki to overcome the dangerous tension, to develop peaceful cooperation and constructive principles in international life.

The Soviet Union advocates fruitful and all-around economic and scientific and technical cooperation, based on principles of mutual advantage and excluding any discrimination. It is ready to further expand and strengthen trade relations, to develop new forms of economic ties, based on mutual interests in the joint development of scientific and technological innovations, in designating and building enterprises and in the use of raw material resources.

In posing the question in this way it is necessary to look closely at the state of our foreign economic relations, to take a somewhat more profound look at them, taking into account the long-term view. Despite international tension there are favorable opportunities here. The approach to mutually advantageous economic ties and foreign trade should be broad, large-scale and directed toward the future.

We are in favor of extensive, mutually advantageous cooperation at many levels with the countries of Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries.

Equally known is our readiness to improve relations with the United States for the sake of mutual benefits and without attempts to encroach upon one another's legitimate rights and interests. There is no sort of fatal inevitability of confrontation between the two countries. If one is to interpret both the positive and negative experience accumulated by the history of Soviet-U.S. relations in past and recent history it should be said that the most rational thing is to look for ways to smooth out relations, to build a bridge of cooperation, but to build it from both sides.

However, the already concluded first stage of the Geneva negotiations provides grounds for saying that Washington is not holding a course directed at accord with the Soviet Union. This is evident if only from the fact that it is altogether refusing to discuss the question of preventing the arms race from spreading into space at the same time as discussing the question of limiting and reducing nuclear weapons. It is thus violating the accord reached in January on the interlinking of the three trends: preventing the arms race in space; reducing nuclear strategic weapons; and reducing medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

The question arises of how to explain such a position? It is explained by the fact that certain U.S. circles still want to achieve a dominant position in the world, primarily in the military sphere. We have more than once drawn the attention of the U.S. side to the fact that these ambitious plans have no future. The Soviet Union and its friends and allies, indeed all other states that take a stance for peace and peaceful cooperation, do not recognize the right of any state or group of states to supremacy and or to impose their will on other countries and peoples.

The Soviet Union, for its part, has never nor ever will set itself such tasks.

We would like to express the hope that the present U.S. attitude will be amended. This would open the possibility of achieving mutually acceptable accords. For our part, such readiness is evident.

Evidence of this is the USSR proposal that both sides should proclaim for the entire period of the talks a moratorium on creating space weaponry, and a freeze on strategic nuclear arsenals. Along this line, the Soviet Union unilaterally announced a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles and on the buildup of other countermeasures in Europe. All over the world this decision was assessed as important and constructive and likely to contribute to the success of the talks.

I would like to remind you that this is not the only step of its kind. Since 1932 the unilateral commitment of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons has been in operation, and since 1983, the unilateral moratorium on being first to put antisatellite weapons into space has been in effect. To neither of these initiatives has the U.S. government responded with a single gesture of goodwill. On the contrary, it has been doing everything possible to present the actions of the USSR, which are directed at a reduction of the war dangers and at reaching understandings, in a false light, and to provoke mistrust in them. In a word, everything possible is being done precisely to avoid positive steps in response.

One cannot help being surprised, too, at the haste with which the U.S. administration replies with its standard and customary "no" to our proposals, which is obvious evidence of the United States' unwillingness to steer the matter toward sensible results. I will say one thing: An arms race and talks on disarmament cannot be combined. That is clear, if one is not to fall into hypocrisy and aim to deceive public opinion. The Soviet Union will not facilitate such a course, and this should be known by all those who are now engaged in a political game and not in pursuing serious policy. We would not want a repetition of the sorry experience of the previous talks.

For its part, the Soviet Union will persistently work in Geneva for concrete, mutually acceptable agreements that would make it possible not only to end the arms race but also advance the cause of disarmament. Now as never before, political will is needed for the sake of peace on earth, for the sake of a better tomorrow.

Such, comrades, are our tasks, the basic directions of domestic and foreign policy. Undoubtedly, they will be the subject of thorough debate at the present plenum, which has to define the nature of the pregress activity of the entire party and of each of its organizations.

We must conduct the work of the plenum in such a way that it may be summed up in Lenin's words:

"We know our tasks much more clearly, concretely, and graphically now than we did yesterday. We are not afraid to point openly to our mistakes so as to correct them. We will now devote all the forces of the party to its better organization, to raising the quality and content of its work, to creating closer ties with the masses and to formulating ever more correct and precise tactics and strategies of the working class" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, pp 99-100).



The party and the Soviet people expect comprehensively thought-out and responsible decisions from us, and it can be said confidently that they will be supported by communists and all workers, supported by their social motivation, their activity and their labor.

(The report was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by sustained applause)

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CSO: 1802/13

ON CONVENING THE 27th CPSU CONGRESS

PM240945 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, Mar 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85)  
pp 21-22

[Text] CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree on convening the 27th CPSU Congress, dated 23 April 1985.

Having heard and discussed a report by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "On Convening the Next, the 27th CPSU Congress and the Tasks Associated With the Preparation and Holding of the Congress," the CPSU Central Committee resolves:

1. To convene the next, 27th, Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on 25 February 1986.

2. To set the following congress agenda:

(I) Report by the CPSU Central Committee on the tasks of the party; rapporteur: Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

(II) Report by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission; rapporteur: Comrade G. F. Sizov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

(III) A new draft of the CPSU program.

(IV) Changes in CPSU bylaws.

(V) Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the Period Between 1986 and 1990 and the Prospects Until the Year 2000; rapporteur: Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

(VI) Elections to central party bodies.

3. To set the ratio of representation at the 27th CPSU Congress: one delegate per 3,670 party members.



4. Delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress are to be elected, in accordance with party bylaws, by closed (secret) ballot at oblast and kray party conferences and congresses of union republic communist parties. Election of delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress from the communist parties of Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan is to be conducted at oblast party conferences.

Communists in the party organizations in the Soviet Army, Navy and Internal and Border Troops are to elect delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress, along with corresponding territorial party organizations, at oblast or kray party conferences or at union republic party congresses.

Communists forming part of party organizations in units of the Soviet Army or Navy who are abroad are to elect delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress at party conferences at corresponding troops units.

5. To hold an election and accountability campaign preceding the 27th CPSU Congress with the following timetable: Meetings in primary party organizations: September-November this year; rayon, city and okrug party conferences: November-December this year; oblast and kray party conferences: December 1985-January 1986; congresses of union republic communist parties: January-early February 1986.

6. At election and accountability meetings and conferences and congresses of union republic communist parties, to make a profound and comprehensive examination of the work done to fulfill the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee; and to discuss in detail questions of party management of economic and cultural building and the state of organization-party and ideological work.

In the course of the election and accountability campaign it is essential to concentrate the efforts of party organizations and labor collectives on the successful completion of 1985 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole, on timely and good-quality preparations for fulfillment of the plans of the 12th Five-Year Plan, on the resolution of key problems of economic and social development and on the intensification of production by all means possible on the basis of widespread introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, improved planning and management and the strengthening of good organization, discipline and order in all links of the national economy: It is also essential to ensure that communists take a vanguard role in launching precongress socialist competition and that efficient support is given to valuable initiatives aimed at bringing forth internal reserves and making better use of them.

Party meetings, conferences and congresses must be held in a businesslike and principled atmosphere and with a self-critical approach in evaluating the work done by party organizations and their leading bodies. It is important that reports and elections should facilitate a further consolidation of Leninist norms in party life, the development of intra-party democracy, criticism from above and from below, a growth in activeness and initiatives among communists and an enhancement of their responsibility for the affairs of their organizations and the party as a whole.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses its firm confidence that preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress will take place on a high organizational and ideological-political level, under the sign of close cohesion of party ranks and the inviolable unity of the party and the people.

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M. S. GORBACHEV SPEECH AT RECEPTION FOR WARSAW PACT LEADERS 26 APRIL 1985

LD290909 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 25 Apr 85)  
pp 23-25

[Speech by M. S. Gorbachev at the reception in honor of the meeting of high party and government leaders of Warsaw Pact members, held in Warsaw on 26 April 1985]

[Text] "Dear Comrade Jaruzelski, dear comrades and friends:

On behalf of the Soviet delegation and of all participants in this meeting, permit me first of all to express cordial gratitude for their hospitality to the leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish state. We also convey a fraternal greeting to the residents of heroic and beautiful Warsaw, to all the working people of People's Poland, wishes of success in building socialism.

An act of historic importance was performed here today in Warsaw, the city that has given the name to our alliance. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance that was signed 30 years ago was renewed. It was renewed, as Comrade Jaruzelski said, with the conviction that our alliance is vitally needed by all its members, needed to strengthen peace and the security of peoples.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin stressed: The revolution must be able to defend itself. And in the Warsaw Pact the peoples of our countries have got a staunch defender of revolutionary gains. What has the Warsaw Pact given to us all? It has given us the possibility of peaceful creative work. The inviolability of the borders has been reliably ensured. A stout barrier has been put in the way of the latter-day subverters of socialism, the claimants to world dominance.

History has not known another alliance like ours where relations are based on the full equality and comradely mutual assistance of sovereign states, an alliance which is in the true sense of the word an alliance of peoples, an alliance which does not threaten anybody, but is wholly devoted to the defense of peace. We build relations with the countries of the other social system on the principle of peaceful coexistence--the sole sensible basis, especially in the nuclear age.

It is with the Warsaw Pact that the major initiatives of our countries, aimed at consolidating peace in Europe and ensuring detente, are associated. Today's meeting reaffirmed our shared readiness to continue to collectively search for ways of removing the threat of war and expanding international cooperation. We stand for making the confrontation of the two military-political alliances less acute, which would meet the interests of all peoples on earth.

It is not the Soviet Union and other socialist states that have initiated the split of Europe and the postwar world. That has been done by the creators of NATO while our alliance was formed only 6 years later. Since then, we have expressed our readiness more than once to dissolve the Warsaw Pact if NATO agrees to respond in kind. This principled position wholly stands. However, regrettably, the other side did not and does not have such an intention. On the contrary, new aggressive doctrines are being put forward there and a crash effort is being exerted to build up both nuclear and conventional arms before our eyes. This now makes us think of further strengthening the Warsaw Pact.

Mankind has been confronted with the following choice: Either it is able to rectify the unfavorable course of events or the risk of outbreak of a nuclear war will continue to grow. This risk is multiplied by U.S. military plans in space. No matter what their authors say and how they justify themselves, the essence of these plans is clear: to acquire the possibility to deal the first nuclear blow and do that with impunity. Since the United States and NATO flatly refuse to follow the example of the USSR and pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, their intentions assume an especially dangerous nature.

The development of weapons for "star wars" is just beginning. However, it is already making the present-day world develop a fever and leading to the destabilization of the entire system of international relations, to even sharper political and military confrontation than at present. This should not be forgotten by both the initiators of the above provocative undertaking and by those who are being invited to share it.

We take a fundamentally different approach: not to turn space into a new source of the threat of war, not to create space attack weapons and to scrap the existing anti-satellite systems. Simultaneously, we propose coming to terms on a radical reduction of nuclear systems and moving towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons altogether.

Such a simple and natural move, as a freeze on nuclear potentials of both sides, prompts itself. An objection is put forward: To agree to that means to solidify Soviet military superiority. However, first of all, there is no such superiority. We have repeatedly proved that, citing figures and Washington has failed to disprove them a single time. And second, who said that we want to stop at a freeze? On the contrary, we insist that a drastic reduction in nuclear arms follow it.

We have already suggested that both sides reduce strategic offensive arms by one-quarter by way of an opening move. However, we would have no objections



to making deeper mutual cuts. All this is possible if the arms race does not begin in space, if it is peaceful.

The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries seek no superiority either on earth or in space. We are not striving to compete over who will build a higher nuclear fence. However, we shall prevent the military-strategic parity from being upset. This is a common and firm position of the Warsaw Pact members. If preparations for "star wars" go on, we will have no other choice but to take response measures, including, of course, a buildup and improvement of offensive nuclear arms.

The just ended first round of Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space arms has demonstrated that they are not plain sailing. It is clear that the negotiations can only be a success on condition that the principle of equality and identical security is observed and the accord on the objective of the negotiations and interrelated resolution of the questions discussed is adhered to.

The Soviet Union, as has already been announced, unilaterally halted the deployment of intermediate-range missiles and implementation of other response measures in Europe. The moratorium went into effect as of 7 April. The world public and many sober-minded American and Western European politicians have estimated that move of ours at its true worth. We have the right to hope that Washington and the capitals of other NATO countries will be more serious and thoughtful in evaluating our initiative and, in turn, show restraint on the issue of siting of U.S. missiles in Western Europe, for mutuality on that issue would assist in directing the Geneva negotiations to the plane of practical decisions and play its role in the settlement of more complex problems.

The Warsaw Pact has been in effect for almost one-third of a century and for the entire duration of that time it acted as an initiator of constructive ideas directed toward detente and arms limitation, toward developing European cooperation. Its growing weight in international politics is having a positive effect on the general climate in the world. This is a result of collective efforts, the contribution of each fraternal country.

Comrades, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism, we once again recall the solemn oath the victors swore over the graves and ruins of World War II: War must not recur! We remember that, we remember what the lessons of war teach us. One of the principal lessons among them is the example of cooperation of powers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Today we call upon all countries in Europe and other continents to rise above the differences and become partners in fighting a new danger that threatens the whole mankind: the danger of nuclear extinction.

Prolonging the Warsaw Pact, we once again express our firm conviction: war can and must be prevented through joint efforts. Such is the will of the peoples of our countries. This is where the policy of our parties and governments, all the activities of the defensive alliance of socialist states are directed.

To further cooperation of our parties and states, their stronger unity and cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism!

May the fraternal alliance of socialist countries--the Warsaw Pact--grow stronger!

To the People's Socialist Poland, to the health of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and members of the Polish leadership and to all participants in our meeting!

To a durable peace on earth!

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TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE MEETING IN TORGAU

LD250842 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85)  
p 26

[Greetings by M. Gorbachev]

[Text] I send my wholehearted greetings to all the participants who have assembled in Torgau to mark the memorable event--the 40th anniversary of the meeting of the Soviet and American troops on the Elbe River.

So, years pass, decades go by but the names of those who--at the cost of their lives--dispelled the threat of enslavement and tyranny that hanged over mankind live bright in the grateful memory of the people.

The veterans of the Great Patriotic War, of the heroic battle against the forces of fascist aggression and militarism--stand high in the esteem of the entire people of our country. We bend our heads in reverence to the memory of those who perished in that battle. The present generation owes them the possibility to live in tranquility and to work in peace.

During these days, on the eve of the celebration of the great victory, the Soviet people also pay tribute of respect to the weighty contribution that was made for the achievement of the common goal by the peoples and the armed forces of the United States, Great Britain, France, China and other state members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. In bringing about that victory an important role was played by armed forces units and the guerrilla armies and detachments of Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Hungary, the resistance movement in France, Italy, Greece, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark and Luxemburg. The German and Austrian patriots waged a courageous struggle against Hitlerite Nazism.

Our combat alliance that was born during the war years demonstrated the potential of cooperation that is created by the joint work for peace and a better future for humanity. Similarly, the handshake of the Soviet and American soldiers who met in the spring of 1945 on the Elbe River has been forever recorded in history as the symbol of hope and friendship.

Today as well, the duty of all honest men, both young and veterans--is to contribute to the best of their ability to the prevention of the fire of war from burning our earth ever again.

Turning back to the events of the past war, we think about the present and, of course, about the future: of a just and stable peace, of saving peoples from the nuclear threat.

Not hostility and discord, but mutual understanding and cooperation among countries and peoples should serve as the reference point for mankind. The Soviet people are convinced that constructive cooperation between the former allies, among all states, in the activity aimed at safeguarding peace can and should become a powerful factor in the improvement of the international climate.

Those who today again join their hands over the Elbe River give a good example of that.

From the bottom of my heart I wish the heroic veterans, the warriors who fought against the Hitlerite fascism, their families and all the participants of the meeting in Torgau the best of health and many years of happy and peaceful life.

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## THE GREAT VICTORY AND THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

AU300501 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85)  
pp 27-36

[Editorial]

[Text] Soviet people are celebrating the day of the 40th anniversary of our victory in the Great Patriotic War as a festive day which is infinitely dear to the heart of everyone. Years and decades pass, new generations are born and grow up, but the feat of the Soviet Union in the battle against Hitler's fascism does not grow dim in the grateful memory of the people.

The victory over fascism, which was achieved at the cost of heavy losses, a colossal strain of forces and the most serious ordeals, was the greatest service done by our people to the whole of mankind. Displaying unparalleled fortitude, courage and heroism at the front and in the rear, the Soviet people and their armed forces, led by the communist party, defended the freedom and independence of the socialist motherland and protected the cause of the October Revolution. They made the decisive contribution to the rout of Hitler's Germany and its allies, to the liberation of the peoples of Europe from fascist enslavement and to the salvation of world civilization.

Historical events on such a scale as the victory over fascism do not belong only to the past. They illuminate our present and future with their light. The more profoundly and widely we comprehend the importance of such great, crucial boundaries of history, and firmer is our step in the present and the more correct far-sighted is our evaluation of the future. The past not only continues to live in people's memory, it is embodied in their actions and in the struggle for the triumph of good and justice and for peace and social progress.

The results of the last war are so significant that, one way or another practically each successive positive step in the history of human civilization, and each success in the cause of the revolutionary renewal of the world, is connected with them. The light of victory shines in the world-historical achievements of world socialism and the consolidation of the positions of the international revolutionary movement and of peace-loving forces, fighting against the threat of a new war. The fate of the billions of people who inhabit our planet, and their very lives are inviolably connected

by thousands of threats with the Great Victory and the feat of the Soviet people who bore on their shoulders the incredibly heavy burden of war and who routed the main force of the fascist aggressor.

This fact, which is well-known to the citizens of the socialist world, is persistently hushed up or negated by bourgeois propaganda. Our class enemy strives to distort, suppress and violate the function of social memory, especially that of the generations which appeared after World War II, in order to deprive them of the experience of the past and limit their horizon with petty momentary needs. Negation of the logic of continuity and proclamation of the uselessness of historical experience reduce all the essential law-governed events of the last war to an accumulation of accidental attendant circumstances and, in the final analysis, to the negation of really existing achievements, and to the devaluation of mankind's spiritual values in that period of development when people's responsibility for determining their place in the global struggle against imperialist aggression, for peace, and to save the earth from thermonuclear catastrophe is raised to the highest limits.

To evaluate the meaning of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War objectively and in full measure means to raise one of the greatest and crucial points in world history, to recognize its place and role in the life of each and every one, and to find a way to the right answers to the most acute problems of the present day.

As the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference on "Perfecting Developed Communism and Ideological Work of the Party in the Light of the Decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum" noted, the day of the 40th anniversary of victory "embodies deep respect toward the unparalleled feat of the Soviet soldier, our people, and the communist party. The victory which was gained is a living victory; it is our history and our present."

The Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War revealed the advantages of socialism, and also its enormous economic, sociopolitical and spiritual capabilities, to the fullest extent.

The crushing rout of the German fascism, the strike force of imperialism, confirmed in a graphic manner that the Leninist tenet of the invincibility of a people who have gained their freedom and liberated themselves from social oppression has the force of an immutable law of historical development. Led by the communist party, our people were the main creators of victory in the war.

The victory over a pernicious and powerful enemy who had the intention of destroying the world's first workers' and peasants' state and stopping the progressive historical development was profoundly law-governed. Its sources lie within the very nature of the socialist system born of the Great October Revolution and the genius of Lenin. It was precisely the Soviet social and state system which gave our people the invincible might which exceeded the strength of fascist Germany and military Japan. The calculations of international reaction on the instability of the socialist structure proved groundless and illusory.

The most important condition for victory was the undoubted superiority of the economic system of socialism. It had the upper hand in the conflict with the economy of fascist Germany, which had subordinated to itself almost the entire economic potential of the conquered countries of Europe. In the most difficult conditions, socialism convincingly demonstrated to the whole world its vitality and irresistible force. Overcoming all difficulties, the communist party organized the evacuation of a considerable proportion of production forces from areas near the front and led the creation of the fundamental industrial base in the east of the country. Never in the past had world practice known any example of the solution of military-economic problems in such a short time span and on a similar scale, which essentially meant relocating an entire industrial power over thousands of kilometers. Based on social property and planned running of the economy, the socialist economy proved its ability to effectively utilize existing potential to achieve victory, and also its colossal vital force and dynamism. During the war years the Soviet Union produced twice as much, and also better quality, arms and military equipment as fascist Germany. An uninterrupted supply of weapons and equipment, material and human resources to the front was organized.

Despite the fact that it was deprived of considerable areas and human and material resources, socialist agriculture was able to supply the country's army and population with food products, and industry with necessary raw materials. Only a collective agricultural production proved capable of carrying out such a task, which was fulfilled in the face of the harsh ordeal of war.

In the course of the war the great advantages of the socialist state on the sociopolitical level, too, were revealed. Never in world history were the interrelationships of classes, social groups, nations and nationalities marked by such an indestructible unity of interests and goals, of will and action, or by such spiritual kindness and mutual trust as they were in the Soviet country in the harsh time of the Great Patriotic War. All this provided the basis for the monolithic unity of the Soviet people and their army and for the firmness of the international ties which united the multinational armed force of our country in one fighting family. In a united formation and in the name of the defense of their socialist fatherland, the peoples of the USSR showed the world miracles of fortitude and courage. At the boundaries of Moscow and Leningrad, the trenches of Stalingrad, in the fields around Kursk, on Ukrainian and Belorussian land, in the underground and in partisan detachments--wherever the war passed by--the sons of Russia and the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic lands, the Caucasus and Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, stood shoulder to shoulder. Representatives of all nations and nationalities of the USSR, workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, engineers and designers waged another battle, for metal and bread, fuel and raw materials and for the creation of mighty weapons. Unparalleled fortitude and labor heroism was displayed by women and young people and frequently by adolescents. This was a genuinely all-national and international feat, the like of which history had never known.

Proving in practice the undoubted superiority of the socioeconomic and political structure of socialism, the rout of fascist Germany and militarist Japan confirmed the powerful life force of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Profound ideological conviction and unbounded faith in the righteousness of the great cause of Lenin and the communist party served as the inexhaustible source of the Soviet people's spiritual strength and moral-political unity.

In the Great Patriotic War the scientific ideology of the worker class--Marxism-Leninism--and the fascist doctrine, the reactionary world outlook of the most aggressive adventurist circles of imperialism, came into conflict. Anticomunist by its very essence, the ideology of German fascism reflected the views and interests of the most chauvinist and rapacious detachments of the exploitative classes, which strove to save the capitalist system from collapse, to implement a policy of imperialist conquests, and to enslave mankind by means of the establishment of a terrorist dictatorship, maximum control over all manifestations of people's social and personal lives, and the use of extreme forms of brute force to suppress the workers class and all working people. Fascist Germany set itself the goal of eliminating socialism, which had become the paradigm and the embodied dream of progressive forces all over the world, of exterminating millions of Soviet people, of turning those who remained alive into slaves, and of opening up the road to its own world domination. "What is involved here is the destruction of an entire world outlook," Hitler's Field Marshal Keitel said, with the designs of the Nazis in mind.

The cruel ideology of fascism, which raised lies, obscurantism, and violence to the status of state policy, cleared the way to "legalization" of barbarity, with all the horrors of Nazi prisons and concentration camps, gas chambers and crematoriums, to justification of the unthinkable misdeeds of Hitler's butchers and to the extermination of millions of people.

The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology which stood in opposition to fascism embodied the highest ideals of humanism and social justice, liberty and progress. Whereas Hitlerite Germany had a temporary advantage in the correlation of economic and military-technical facts at the initial stage of the war, superiority in the ideological sphere was always and continued to be on the side of the Soviet Union. In its sociopolitical essence the communist world outlook possesses an enormous attractive force and the ability to inspire and raise the wide masses of people to perform feats of labor and war. In the war years the force of Marxist-Leninist ideas was displayed in the mass heroism of Soviet people in the rear and at the front. Lenin's prediction came true; he had said that "Russia is not only capable of providing lone heroes.... No, we were right when we said that Russia will provide such heroes from the masses, that Russia will be able to produce such heroes in hundreds and thousands" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 42, p 4).

Our victory embodies the advantages of the socialist state's army, which is educated in the spirit of communist conviction, patriotism and internationalism.

With its valor, invincible strength and humanism, the Red Army, created to defend the achievements of socialism and peace, won the deep respect of the peoples of the earth. No army in the past had withstood such a harsh test or applied so many forces to crush an enemy who threatened the whole of mankind.



The enemy made a deep miscalculation in counting the weakness of our armed forces and on the instability of their multinational composition.

The Red Army endured the main battles of World War II with honor. In battles of unprecedented scale and intensity, it brought about that which no army of the bourgeois West was capable of achieving: it foiled Hitler's "lightning war" plan and then, having grasped the initiative, it achieved a fundamental turn in the war and completed the rout of the enemy. The Soviet armed forces brilliantly conducted large combat operations of unprecedented scale and military-political results. The triumphal battles of Moscow and Stalingrad, the Kursk Bulge, the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic lands, Moldavia and the Polar Circle, Berlin and dozens of other strategic operations, hundreds of front operations and thousands of battle and engagements are inscribed in golden letters in the treasure house of Soviet and world military history.

They decided the fate of the German Wehrmacht. It was precisely on the Soviet-German front, where the main forces of fascist Germany and its satellites were in operation, that the enemy suffered three-quarters of all his human losses and that the basic mass of his combat equipment was destroyed. Long before the end of the war, the Red Army's outstanding victory had convincingly demonstrated to the whole world that our country was capable of routing the enemy and liberating the peoples of Europe alone, without the British-American troops.

Characteristic is a statement by W. Churchill who, to all intents and purposes, admitted the decisive importance of our army's triumph, which in his words "evoked the unbounded admiration of its allies, and which decided the fate of German militarism. Future generations will recognize the debt they owe to the Red Army just as unreservedly as we who have lived to be witnesses to these magnificent victories."

A weighty contribution to the common victory over the enemy was made by the peoples and armies of the United States, Britain, France, China and other states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. As the experience of the war years showed, a difference in social systems is no obstacle to combining efforts in the struggle against aggression, for peace, and for international security.

An important role in the war against the Hitlerite aggressors was played by the antifascist liberation movement which became widespread in the countries occupied by the Hitlerites. From the earliest days of fascist aggression, the peoples of Yugoslavia and Poland set out on the road of armed struggle and patriots of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and Hungary, and resistance fighters in France, Italy, Greece, Belgium and other countries fought stubbornly against the Hitlerite oppressors. Everywhere the nucleus of the antifascist movement was made up of communists.

The great advantages of the socialist system were realized to their fullest extent by the will of the communist party. Having become a fighting party, it took upon itself the total responsibility for the fate of the motherland and ensured a stable unity of political, state and military leadership and the unity of army and people, at the front and in the rear. The communist party forged victory on the immovable basis of the objective laws of the development

of society and of the Leninist idea of the defense of the socialist fatherland, orienting all of its theoretical and organizational activity toward mobilizing the people's energy. The Central Committee was the headquarters from which the highest political and strategic leadership was implemented. The formation of the State Defense Council headed by I. V. Stalin, general secretary of the party Central Committee, and the creation of other extraordinary organs of economic and military leadership increased still more the role of the Central Committee and its Politburo in achieving victory in the war. the Politburo, the Organizational Bureau, and the Secretariat of the party Central Committee discussed and resolved all the principal questions of leading the country and waging the war. The decisions elaborated by the Central Committee were then implemented in practice through the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Council of People's Commissars, the State Defense Committee and Supreme Command Headquarters.

The party's will and ideas were directly brought to the masses by the communists, who showed an example of unity, discipline, fortitude and an unconquerable moral spirit. As they went into battle, thousands of Soviet soldiers applied for admission to the ranks of the Leninist party. The fighters were aware that their entry into the party gave them only one "privilege," which was that of always being in the fore in mortal engagements with the enemy and of not sparing their own lives for the sake of victory.

No bourgeois state has nor it will ever have the opportunities that are inherent in the socialist system and which determine its invincibility. Vanquished enemies have frequently alluded to some kind of "secrets" of bolshevism which supposedly ensured the victory of our army. But, of course, there are no special secrets. The socialist social system, its economic and organizational possibilities, the leading role of the Leninist party, ideological and political unity, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the friendship of the USSR peoples and their cohesion around the communist party and the heroism and fortitude of the Red Army soldiers--these are the main factors that ensured the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War.

As Maksim Gorkiy accurately noted, "there are no forces that could dim the torch raised by Lenin in the deep darkness of a frightened world."

The Soviet Union's victory represented graphic proof of the viability and invincible force of socialism and had an impact on the entire further development of world history. It introduced deep changes in the global correlation of forces and contributed to the transformation of socialism into a world system. Imperialism was deprived forever of all possibilities to dispose with impunity of the fate of peoples of the planet and to dictate its own will to them.

The results of the war represent a stern warning to the contemporary pretenders to world domination. They convincingly show that all attempts to settle the historical dispute with socialism by means of military force are doomed to failure and represent a dangerous illusion.

The very fact of the Hitlerite invaders' attack on the world's first socialist state and the just liberation goals of the latter's struggle against the aggressor strengthened the faith of all peoples in the achievement of national and social liberation. The Soviet people and their armed forces did not limit themselves to saving only their own country from the "brown plague." The goal of the all-people's Patriotic War against the fascist enslavers was not only to liquidate the danger hanging over our country but also to provide assistance to all peoples of Europe languishing under the yoke of German fascism. And in this connection our armed forces strictly followed the Soviet Union's principled policy line of refraining from all interference in the internal affairs of other countries and of strictly respecting their sovereignty and, in relation to the state engaged in the war on Germany's side, of not being guided by a feeling of revenge but by the aspiration to liberate the world from fascism as quickly as possible and to help restore democracy in the liberated countries.

The deliverance of the central and southeast European countries from the fascist yoke created favorable conditions for the victory of the people's democratic revolutions in these countries, the revolutions that in time grew into socialist revolutions as a result of objective internal factors. The Soviet Union extended its selfless aid to these countries in restoring their war-devastated economies, in creating their new people's armies and in cutting off the attempts of imperialism to interfere in their internal affairs.

The rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II marked the beginning of transformation of socialism into the leading force of world development. The expansion of socialism beyond the boundaries of one country and the rise of the world socialist system were of enormous importance for the fate of all mankind and represented the greatest event of the contemporary period after the victory of the Great October Revolution. This fact is a striking confirmation of the conclusion of Marxism-Leninism that mankind's development inevitably leads to socialism and to the establishment of the new social system. Being the most important factor of consolidation of peace, the unity of the countries of socialism based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism has become the prototype of the future brotherhood of all working people, and has made a real contribution to humanizing international relations.

The collapse of fascism undermined and sharply weakened the positions of capitalism and contributed to a deepening of its general crisis and, at the same time, to a significant widening of the world revolutionary process. As a result of the rout of the shock forces of imperialist reaction--German fascism and Japanese militarism, new opportunities arose in the struggle for democracy and socialism in the capitalist countries. Favorable conditions were created in these countries for widening the class struggle of the working people, for the rise of the communist and workers movement and for the formation of a united anti-imperialist front directed against the entire system of state-monopolist capitalism. The international communist movement has become the most influential political force of the contemporary period.

The upsurge of the workers and democratic movements in the postwar years has ensured the achievement of significant successes in the class struggle of the



working masses. In many West European countries the communists joined the governments for the first time in history and they achieved the implementation of an entire series of deep social reforms in the interests of the working people. Even now the ruling bourgeois circles do not dare to completely take these achievements from the working people.

The liberation goals of the Great Patriotic War and every victory of our armed forces were enthusiastically received in the most distant corners of the colonial world and engendered a mighty upsurge of the national liberation struggle. The wave of liberation revolutions rolled across all continents and brought about the collapse of the colonial system. More than 100 new independent states were formed and the role of the liberated peoples in international politics increased. The development of revolutionary processes leads to a further weakening of the positions of imperialism and strengthens the front of anti-imperialist struggle.

The wide and mass antiwar movement in which people of different social positions and of various political views and convictions actively participate has acquired an objectively anti-imperialist orientation. The realization by popular masses of the terrible danger of a new war lurking in the policy of the most aggressive and adventurist circles of imperialism arouses these masses to the struggle to save life on earth itself. The collective mind of mankind manifests itself with special force in support of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, and in the aspiration to protect its most cherished value, peace on our planet.

A new opportunity to solve the problem of war and peace has appeared in the contemporary situation. Thanks to the changes that have taken place in the correlation of forces between imperialism and socialism in the world arena, and as a result of the consistent peace-loving foreign policy course of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war, the unleashing of a new global conflagration by the international reaction has been successfully prevented over a period of 4 decades.

The lessons of the Great Patriotic War truly have a worldwide historic importance that concerns the fundamental interests of mankind.

Chief among these lessons of the war is that it is necessary to struggle against the threat of war before weapons, and especially nuclear weapons, open their fire. The CPSU and the Soviet state proceed from the fact that, in the conditions existing in the world now, there is no more essential and more important question than the question of ensuring the primary human right, the right to life in conditions of peace and freedom.

The position of the Leninist party is clear and defined: the only reasonable way out of the existing situation is an agreement between the opposing forces on immediately ending the arms race and, first and foremost, the nuclear arms race on earth, and in not permitting it in outer space. The large-scale peace-loving initiatives of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community are aimed at this goal. The USSR advocates a continuation of the process of arranging peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation



between states on the principles of equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of others.

The USSR's new peaceful initiatives set forth in Comrade M. S. Gorbachev's interview with the editor of the newspaper PRAVDA point out the real path to improving Soviet-American relations and the general international situation and demonstrate our country's readiness to take all necessary measures to curb the arms race and strengthen general peace. Washington's hasty and thoughtless reaction to the new Soviet initiatives is clearly contrary to the hopes and expectations of the peace-loving public of the planet.

World War II--and this is its other lesson--demonstrated the practical possibility of achieving mutually acceptable accord between states with different social systems if all participants in negotiations show political will for cooperation. The 40th anniversary of the Great Victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism could be observed in a worthy manner with new steps toward detente, with the ending of the arms race, and with the development of political dialogue and cooperation between states.

It goes without saying that the consistent actions of the land of the soviets in defense of peace and to curb the arms race is not conditioned by our weakness but by the fact that we are able to respond to the aggressive plans of imperialism. No one should have any illusions on this score. If we are forced, then--as happened more than once in the past--we will do everything to protect our security as well as the security of our allies and friends. The USSR and the fraternal socialist countries have enough material and intellectual resources for this at their disposal. No imperialist adventure will go unpunished.

"In the difficult international situation," it was pointed out at the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "it is as important as ever to maintain our fatherland's defense capability at the level which ensures that any potential aggressors will well understand that an encroachment upon the security of the Soviet country and its allies and upon the peaceful life of the Soviet people will be met with a crushing retaliatory strike. Our glorious armed forces will continue to have at their disposal everything required for this purpose.

One of the topical lessons of the war is the necessity of thoroughly understanding the entire seriousness of the moral threat that today hangs over all life on our planet. To deliver the peoples of the world from the danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe it is important to have a precise and clear picture of the source of that threat, to actively unmask the refined methods used by the monopolist bourgeoisie to deceive the masses in the sphere of foreign policy and to reveal the imperialism's responsibility for the exacerbation of international tensions and for preparations for a new war. All this is of principled importance in view of the fact that, in striving to rehabilitate imperialism and relieve it of the guilt for begetting two world wars in this century, bourgeois propaganda is maliciously falsifying history and trying to camouflage the social-class nature and true goals of the militarist policy of imperialist powers by means of demagoguery and disinformation.

A challenge to mankind has once again been thrown down, this time by U.S. imperialism. Intending to achieve a social revanche for the defeats and failures suffered on a worldwide scale, the aggressive circles of imperialism have developed feverish militarist operations and they are trying to achieve military superiority over the USSR and its allies, relentlessly stepping up the arms race, and striving to dictate their will to sovereign states from the position of strength. Their actions in the international arena attest to their intentions to turn back the course of history by military means.

Quite a few blood tragedies have also taken place in the past through the fault of imperialism. However, never before has imperialism counted so openly and cynically on the weapons of mass destruction which present a real threat to the very conditions of existence of human civilization and never before have the war propaganda and the aspiration to world domination been distinguished by such unbridled self-assurance. The "great lie" about socialism and the Soviet Union's policy, supported in our period by the enormous technical possibilities of propaganda and by the manipulation of social awareness of the masses, has become the most widely spread weapon in the arsenal of our ideological enemy.

The increased irresponsibility of the imperialist policy is connected with the deepening general crisis of capitalism. This crisis manifests itself in steadily increasing economic disorders and shocks, in the exacerbation of social contradictions, in the degeneration of state institutions of capitalism, in the decline of bourgeois ideology and morals, and in the activation of the forces of extreme reaction and neofascism that are losing their sense of reality and often also their common sense because of their class hatred of socialism. All this makes the policy of imperialism more and more reckless. Political adventurism is intensified by the coalescence of the top ruling clique and the military-industrial complex.

The explosive situation in the world is created by the aggressive actions of the United States and its uncereceremonious interference in the affairs of independent sovereign states: the bandit-like attack on Grenada the territory of which is almost smaller than the deck surface of the armada of ships launched against it; undeclared war against Nicaragua; brigandage in Lebanon; support for the bandit-like attacks on Afghanistan, Angola and Kampuchea; interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador; undisguised threats against Cuba and Vietnam as well as Syria and Libya; and other actions. The United States is directly responsible for the deployment of hundreds of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, already overfilled with all types of weapons even without this deployment, despite the will of peoples. It is also through the fault of imperialism that the mountains of weapons are also growing in other regions of the earth. The militarist forces have conceived the sinister "star wars" plans that represent a terrible danger for the immediate future. Expatiation about the "defensive" nature of these plans can delude no one. Having covered itself with a "space shield," U.S. imperialism then intends to hold in fear the entire world and dictate its will to other peoples.

If the arms race is not checked now, it can move to a qualitatively new stage at which uncontrollable processes will begin. However, it long ago became obvious to every realistically minded person that in contemporary conditions it is insane to pursue an aggressive policy and to continue to accumulate and endlessly perfect the weapons of mass destruction.

For the imperialist aggressor nuclear missile war cannot represent a means of achieving political goals. It is not only absurd but also suicidal. Nuclear weapons are becoming useless both politically (as a means of blackmail) and militarily because it is impossible to threaten with them or to use them without catastrophic consequences to the aggressor himself.

An understanding is widely asserting itself that the security of states in the world in the nuclear era cannot be built on force or threat of force. It is only possible on the basis of security for all.

There is yet another important lesson of the past war: the necessity of maintaining high political vigilance and combat readiness. It is justly said that imperialist wars do not start with bombs and grenades but with lies and provocations.

The preparations for the fascist aggression against the USSR was accompanied by the barking of Goebbels' propaganda about the "threat from East" and about the "intrigues of the bolsheviks." In our period imperialist propaganda is heaping a mountain of slanders on the Soviet Union, expatiating about some kind of a "communist threat," "export of revolution," and "international terrorism" supposedly encouraged by the forces of social progress and national liberation.

The ideological activeness of monopolist bourgeoisies has increased sharply. An enormous propaganda machine has been built and refined technical means and methods are used to ensure the material support for the proclaimed "crusade" against communism. In its intensity, content and methods the "psychological war" unleashed by imperialism represents a special variety of aggression that tramples underfoot the sovereignty of other countries. It is under the mask of defenders of humanism and human rights that the ideologues of capitalism try to thrust upon the socialist world the norms and standards of a way of life that is alien to us, to "loosen" the awareness of people and make them susceptible to the petit bourgeois ideas.

As far back as 1919, Lenin pointed out that what is needed in the struggle against the plotting of the enemy are discipline and vigilance raised to the "highest levels" (ibid, vol 39, p 55). This Leninist thesis acquires exceptional acuity in the contemporary conditions and it concerns not only the military sphere but also all other spheres of life and activity of Soviet people.

The principled party stance, a consistent class approach in evaluating events and phenomena, political vigilance and irreconcilability toward views that are alien to us, and the creative and aggressive nature of all ideological work are needed more than ever in a situation where the aggressive imperialist circles are exacerbating tension and systematically organizing hostile

ideological campaigns and diversions against the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of socialism.

The sons of grandsons of those who forged the historic victory at the front and in the rear in the harsh years of the Great Patriotic War are now serving in the ranks of the Soviet army and navy. They are treasuring and multiplying the glorious revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the party and people. The ideological-moral potential possessed by war veterans is priceless and their glorious combat traditions provide a reliable supporting base in the education of soldiers of the Soviet army, standing in a single front with the armies of the fraternal socialist member-states of the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet people may rest assured that their peaceful work is protected and protected reliably.

The CPSU and the Soviet state have done and continue to do everything in their power to eliminate the terrible threat of nuclear war and, in the final analysis, to achieve the historical goal of completely eliminating war from the life of peoples. Having become the decisive social force of peaceful development, socialism is creating a real possibility for protecting peace and life on earth and preventing the fulfillment of aggressive misanthropic plans of imperialism. Herein lies the hope of all mankind.

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CSO: 1802/13



## NEW DOCUMENTS FROM THE PATRIOTIC WAR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 37-51

[Text] The 1945 Berlin offensive operation, which brought about the final collapse of the German-fascist military machine, was an outstanding passage in the heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people against the Hitlerite aggressors. The might of the Soviet state and its armed forces, and the high level of our martial art were manifested to their fullest extent in the battle for Berlin.

The Soviet command planned to defeat the enemy with the forces of the Second Belorussian (Marshal of the Soviet Union K. K. Rokossovskiy commanding), First Belorussian (Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov commanding) and First Ukrainian (Marshal of the Soviet Union I. S. Konev commanding) fronts. Also involved in the operation were part of the forces of the Baltic fleet, long-range aviation formations and the Dnepr military flotilla (see documents Nos 1-4). All in all, the Soviet troops had concentrated in the direction of Berlin 2.5 million men, about 42,000 guns and mortars, more than 6,200 tanks and self-propelling guns and 7,500 combat aircraft.

The military councils of the fronts and armies, the political organs of large units and the party organizations did a tremendous amount of work to prepare for the operation. In the appeals to the troops at assemblies, meetings, lectures and talks on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, they explained to the troops the great liberation mission of the Soviet armed forces and strengthened the morale of the troops, their firmness and combat activeness (see Documents 5, 10).

At 5 am, on 16 April 1945, the troops of the First Belorussian Front opened a 30-minute powerful artillery barrage. This was followed by the lighting of 140 antiaircraft searchlights, deployed at 200-meter intervals. The battlefield was illumined by a power of 100 billion candles. The Hitlerite forces were literally drowned in this thick sea of light, fire and metal. At the same time, the forces of the First Ukrainian Front undertook to cross the rivers Neisse and Oder. Despite fierce enemy opposition, its defenses, echeloned in depth, were breached (see Documents 6 and 7).

On 28 April, our artillery opened fire on Berlin. The next day, the Soviet soldiers rushed into the city. The culminating point in the battle for Berlin

was on 24 April, when the forces of the First Belorussian and First Ukrainian fronts met at the southeastern edge of Berlin and split the enemy group in two (see Documents 9, 12 and 13). On 20 April, the forces of the Second Belorussian Front mounted their offensive in the direction of Stettin. They crossed two branches of the River Oder and the area between them and, by the end of 25 April, breached the main enemy defenses south of Stettin.

On 30 April 1945, the forces of the Third Strike Army commanded by Colonel General V. I. Kuznetsov, opened the battle for the Reichstag, which was stormed by the 171st Infantry Division, commanded by Colonel A. I. Negoda and the 150th Infantry Division, commanded by Major General V. M. Shatilov. That same evening, the Reichstag was captured, and Sgt M. A. Yegorov and M. V. Kantariya raised over it the flag of victory. By the morning of 2 May, the remnants of the Berlin garrison had been split into individual isolated groups, and by 3 pm surrendered (see Documents 14-15).

The high consciousness and humanism of the Soviet soldiers and officers were manifested with particular force in the period of the battles for Berlin. Under the difficult circumstances, they helped the civilian population, showing concern for the sick, the children and the elderly, sharing their food with them. The Soviet command organized the delivery of food to the city, deployed a network of medical centers and helped the population in rebuilding work (see Document 16).

Along with defeating the surrounded enemy groups, the Soviet troops continued their advance toward the West. On 25 April, the forces of the First Ukrainian front and, at the beginning of May, the First Belorussian Front met with advance elements of the First American Army in the areas of Riesa and Torgau (see Documents 8, 11 and 19). The forces of the Second Belorussian Front, who were successfully advancing in West Pomerania and Mecklenburg, captured the main enemy defenses on the western bank of the Oder on 26 April and, in headlong pursuit of the enemy, reached the Baltic Sea on 3 May. On 4 May they had reached the Wismar, Schwerin and Elbe River line, where they met with the British forces; on 4-5 May the front forces cleared Wolin, Uged and Rugen islands from the enemy and on 9 May landed on the Danish island of Bornholm, where they disarmed a large garrison of German-fascist troops.

The Berlin strategic offensive operation ended with a brilliant victory won by the Soviet forces. In the course of it, 70 infantry, 12 tank and 11 motorized divisions were routed and 480,000 men were taken prisoner.

Fascist Germany was crushed (see Document No 18). The implementation of this historical mission was made possible by the fact that the Soviet army had reached the end of the war materially and spiritually powerful and significantly superior to the enemy in martial skills and the military mastery of the personnel. The communist party did everything possible to inspire the troops in their difficult military efforts and to strengthen in them faith in the success of our just cause. The date 9 May became Victory Day and a great holiday for all progressive mankind.

The documents presented to the attention of the readers are kept in the central archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense and most of them are

previously unpublished. They were prepared for publication by Major General V. V. Gurkin and Colonel O. G. Gurov.

#### Abbreviations

A -- Army	pd -- infantry division
gv. -- guards	sd -- rifle division
iak -- fighter aviation corps	tk -- tank corps
mk -- mechanized corps	ud. -- assault
mp -- mortar regiment	shak -- assault aviation corps

#### Document 1

From the Directive of Supreme Command Headquarters on the Conversion of the Front Forces to Rigid Defense on the Eve of the Berlin Offensive Operation

To the Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front

2 April 1945  
2140 hours

#### Supreme Command Headquarters Order:

1. With receipt of the present directive, the front forces will convert to rigid defense along the entire sector.

No less than two defense lines must be established along the front's sector.

Strong reserve forces echeloned in depth must be deployed in the main directions.

2. Tank-threatened directions to be tightly covered by artillery and mine fields.

3. Planned combat preparations to be organized among the front forces without affecting the firm defense.

4. By no later than 10 April, move the local population 10-15 kilometers behind the front line of the troops.

5. Forbid the use of radio stations other than those of the air force and antiaircraft defense....

Supreme Command Headquarters  
J. Stalin  
Antonov

Original

TsAMO [Ministry of Defense Central Archive] USSR, f. [file] 132-A, op. [list] 2642, d. [case] 39, l. [sheet] 72.

Document 2

From the Combat Order of the Commander of the Troops of the First Belorussian Front on the Use of the Dnepr Navy Flotilla in the Berlin Operation

To Commander of the Dnepr Navy Flotilla

To commanders of the Fifth ud., Eighth gv. and 33rd armies; to the Chief of the Rear Forces, First Belorussian Front

Copy: Chief of the Red Army General Staff

Chief of the Navy Headquarters

7 April 1945

...3. By the end of 10 April 1945 the Red Banner Dnepr Navy Flotilla to concentrate on the Oder River; the First and Second Brigades in the Kustrin area and the Third River Ship Brigade in the Grossen area, with the following assignments:

a) To protect the crossing from attacks by enemy river ships and mines floated down the rivers and canals;

b) To assist the army forces in crossing the Oder on combat and auxiliary flotilla ships;

c) Together with the ground forces, the ships will direct their antiaircraft fire at the enemy air force to prevent it from laying mines or operating along the crossings and other targets in the river area.

4. The flotilla commander will assign a third brigade of river ships for joint action with the 33rd Army and one brigade of river ships each for joint activities with the Fifth ud Army and Eighth gv Army.

5. The commanders of the 33rd, Fifth Strike and Eighth gv armies to issue the assignments to the river ship brigades....

6. Zhukov    Telegin<sup>2</sup>    Malinin<sup>3</sup>

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. 48-A, op. 3411, d. 155, ll. 180-182.

Document 3

From the Operative Directive of the Commander of the Forces of the First Ukrainian Front on the Implementation of the Berlin Operation

To Army Commanders of the Third Guards, 13th and Fifth Guards, Second Polish, 52nd and Third gv TA, Fourth gv TA and Second VA



8 April 1945

The forces of the First Ukrainian Front will strike out of the Tribel area toward Spremberg and Belzig and from the area west of Kolfurt toward Bautzen and Dresden, with a view to routing the enemy group in the Cottbus area and south of Berlin; by no later than the 10th or the 12th day of the operation, to reach the Beelitz and Wittenberg line and, following the Elbe River, Dresden.

Consider that part of the forces of the right flank of the front must cooperate with the troops of the First Belorussian Front in capturing the city of Berlin.

I hereby order:

1. The commander of the Third gv (Army) to cross the Neisse River, breach the enemy defenses on the sector (excluding) Forst and (excluding) Klein-Badeneisel and advance in the overall direction of Cottbus, Vetschau and Luckenwald....

To prepare one rifle division for action as part of the separate detachment of the Third gv TA from the Trebbin area to Berlin....

2. The commander of the 13th Army shall cross the Neisse River, breach enemy defenses in the Klein-Badeneisel and (excluding) Klein-Serhen sector and advance in the overall direction of Gross-Kelzig, Drebkau, Munnhausen, Schlieben and Tsana....

3. The commander of the Fifth gv Army with the Fourth gv tk will cross the River Neisse, breach enemy defenses along the 7-kilometer front along the Klein-Serhen and Muskau sector and advance in the general direction of Heuerswerd, Schwepnitz and the northwestern edge of Dresden.

4. The commander of the Third gv Tank Army will enter the breach on the sector of the Third gv Army along the line between the Spree River south of Cottbus and, rapidly developing the offensive in the general direction of Kalau, Luckau and Luckenwalde, by the end of the third day of the operation, to seize the Kitlitz, Schlabendorf, Furstlich-Drena and Kalau area. On the fifth day of the operation, to capture the Trebbin, Zauchwitz, Dreuberitzen and Luckenwalde area.

On the sixth day of the operation, capture Brandenburg with a strong advance element.

To bear in mind that the tank corps reinforced with a rifle division of the Third gv Army will attack Berlin from the south.

5. The commander of the Fourth gv Tank Army will enter the breach in the sector of the Fifth gv Army from the Spree River line and, rapidly developing the offensive in the general direction of Gross-Reschen, Finsterwalde, Schlieben and Tsana, by the end of the third day of the operation, to seize the Sado, Finsterwalde, Hockra and Sarchen area.

The Nimegk, Wittenberg, Arnsdorf and Dennevitze area to be captured on the fifth day of the operation.

On the sixth day of the operation strong advance elements must capture Dessau and Rathenow.

6. To the commander of the Second Polish Army. The main army group, consisting of three td, tk, artillery division and army reinforcements to cross the Neisse River, breach the enemy defenses in the Rotenburg and Ober-Vorwerk sector and advance in the overall direction of Neuseichen, Welka and Dresden.

7. The commander of the 52nd Army with the Seventh gv mk will cross the Neisse River, breach the enemy defenses in the Ober-Vorwerk and (excluding) Pentzsch sector and advance in the overall direction of Bautzen and the southeastern Dresden suburbs.

On the left flank of the front, the army must convert to rigid defense....

The Seventh gv mk will advance in the breach from the line of the railroad 6 kilometers west of the Neisse River, in the direction of the southern edge of Bautzen and Stolpen, so that, by the end of the second day of the operation, to capture the area south and southeast of Bautzen and, on the third day of the operation, to capture the Schmiedefeld, Wilsdorf, Dobra, Tschernik and Ruckersdorf area.

8. To the commander of the First gv Cavalry Corps. The corps will be introduced into the breach in the sector of the 52nd Army on the Ullersdorf and Siedenhufen line and, rapidly developing the offensive in the general direction north of Lobau, Oppach, Sebnitz and Glashutte, cross on the march the Elbe River on the fourth day of the operation, in the Statwelen and Detschin sector and, using the main forces of the corps, take the Glashutte area....

9. The commander of the Second Air Army shall:

a) Cover from the air the concentration and operations of the main group of forces, the tank armies in particular.

b) With mass strikes, bombers and divers will assist the front forces in crossing the Neisse and breaching the enemy defenses along the entire tactical depth.

c) Prevent the enemy from organizing a defense line along the Spree River and deal mass strikes at the enemy in order to enable the tank armies to cross the Spree River as rapidly as possible.

d) Block bringing up enemy reserves to the battlefield from Berlin and Dresden.

e) Accompany the tank armies along the entire depth of their assignment with fighter, diver and, if necessary, bomber aircraft.

f) To block with smoke enemy observation points and firing positions in front of the sectors to be crossed by the armies and along the flanks.

The army operations will be supported by the following: Third gd Army--Second shak and Second iak; 13th Army--First shak and Sixth iak; Fifth Army--part of the forces of the Third shak; 52nd and Second Polish--Third shak and Fifth iak.

10. The artillery offensive will take place as per the included plan schedule (footnote--not published).

Ammunition expenditures on the first day of the operation: 1-1.25 battle sets.

11. The army commanders shall make extensive and concentrated use of smoke screens in the crossing of the Neisse and Spree rivers....

Konev, Commander of the Forces of the First Ukrainian Front  
Kraynyukov, Member of the Military Council of the First Ukrainian Front  
Petrov, Chief of Staff, First Ukrainian Front

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 236, op. 7212, d. 351, ll. 133-141

#### Document 4

From the Operative Directive of the Commander of the Troops of the First Belorussian Front on the Forthcoming Offensive of the Front Forces<sup>4</sup>

To the Commander of the First Polish Army

Copy to the Chief of General Staff of the Red Army

12 April 1945  
0300 hours

...3. The First pa with the 41st gd mp and the 274th Special Assignment Battalion (Amphibious) will mount the offensive with the assignment of crossing the Oder River at the Christiansaue sector, hill 5.6 (3 kilometers west of Gustepise) and by the end of the first day of the operation, to reach with the main army forces the Alte Oder and capture the crossing of this canal. The crossing of the troops across the Oder to be concealed with a smokescreen, coordinating the smokescreens with the commander of the 47th Army.

On the second day of the operation, to cross the Alte Oder canal and capture the line of the eastern suburb of Eberswalde and Hersdorf.

Subsequently, to advance in the general direction of Klosterfelde, Sachsenhausen, Kremmen, Frisak and Arneburg....

4. Preparations for the offensive operation, the regrouping and bringing the troops up to the starting position for the offensive to be concealed from the enemy, observing all camouflage measures and mandatorily launching a surprise action.

5. The chief of staff, chief of the operative department of the army staff and the commander of army artillery may be informed of this directive.

The remaining personnel will be issued assignments to the extent of their obligations.

Regimental commanders will not be issued written orders. The assignments will be issued verbally 3 days before the operation.

No general directives shall be issued for the real services, but verbal orders only.

6. It must be explained to the entire army personnel that our task will be to wage a stubborn and lengthy defense battle.

The junior command personnel and the Red Army men must be informed of the offensive 2 hours before the attack.

7. The offensive will begin in accordance with my personnel instructions....

Zhukov, Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front  
Telegin, Member of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front  
Malinin, Chief of Staff of the First Belorussian Front

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 233, op. 2356, d. 459, ll. 83-85

#### Document 5

First Belorussian Front Military Council Address to Troops, Sergeants, Officers and Generals

15 April 1945

Combat Friends!

Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Stalin, the supreme commander in chief, has ordered, in the name of the homeland and the entire Soviet people, the troops of our front to rout the enemy on the immediate approaches to Berlin, to capture the capital of fascist Germany--Berlin--and raise over it the flag of victory.



The time has come to deal the final strike at the enemy and to save our homeland forever from the threat of war presented by the fascist gangsters.

The time has come to rescue from the yoke of fascist bondage our fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, wives and children, who are still wasting away under the Germans.

The time has come to finish the enemy off and to end the war victoriously.

Dear comrades!

The forces of our front have covered a hard but glorious distance during the Great Patriotic War. The combat flag of our units and formations are haloed with the glory of victories won over the enemy at Stalingrad and Kursk at the Dnepr, in Belorussia, at Warsaw, in Pomerania, in Brandenburg (footnote--as written. Meaning Brandenburg Province) and at the Oder.

Our victorious banners have flown over hundreds of cities and tens of thousands of villages and hamlets. We brought the happiness of liberation from the German yoke to millions of Soviet citizens. With the glory of our victories, our sweat and our blood we earned the right to storm Berlin and be the first to enter it, the first to voice the terrible words of the harsh sentence passed by our people over the Hitlerite aggressors. I appeal to you to carry out this task with your military valor, honor and glory. We shall take Berlin with a headlong strike and heroic onslaught, for this is not the first time that Russian soldiers have taken Berlin.

Soviet heroes!

I call upon you to concentrate all your efforts, will, skill and resolve, your courage and daring on the selfless implementation of the order of our leader, Comrade Stalin, the order of our mother-homeland. We have all that is needed to accomplish this, in sufficient quantities.

It is on you, comrades, that the elimination of the last enemy defense lines with a headlong strike and rush into Berlin depends.

For our Soviet homeland--forward, on to Berlin!

Death to the German aggressors!

Zhukov, Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front  
Telegin, Member of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. 233, op. 2356, d. 721, ll. 502-503.

Document 6

From the information report of the general staff to Supreme Command Headquarters on the combat operations of the forces of the First Belorussian and First Ukrainian fronts.

16 April 1945  
1415 hours

...After a 30-40-minute artillery barrage, the forces of the First Belorussian Front including the First Polish and 47th armies, the Third and Fifth Assault armies, the Eight Guards, 69th and 33rd armies mounted a decisive offensive in the direction of Berlin between 0530 and 0615 hours on 16 April. By 1100 hours, the advancing armies had advanced by 226 kilometers and captured more than 1,400 German soldiers and officers.

The forces of the First Ukrainian Front, with the Third Guard and 13th armies, the Fifth Guard, the Second Polish and part of the 52nd armies began crossing the River Neisse along the Forst and Pentzich sector after an artillery barrage which lasted 1 hour and 45 minutes, at 0800 hours, on 16 April (10 kilometers north of Herlitz). The advancing units crossed the Neisse and seized a bridgehead 2-5 kilometers in depth on the western bank of the river.

Colonel General Shtemenko, Chief of the Operative Administration of the Red Army General Staff

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 16-A, op. 1075, d. 12, 11. 204-205

Document 7

From the Battle Order of the Commander of the Forces of the First Ukrainian Front on the Headlong Offensive of Tank Forces

To Rybalko, Commander of the Third gv TA

To Lelyushenko, Commander of the Fourth gv TA Army

17 April 1945

In accordance with the Supreme Command order, I hereby order:

1. To the army commander of the Third gv TA: to cross the Spree River between 17 and 18 April 1945 and to develop a headlong offensive in the general direction of Feeschau, Holsen, Barut, Teltow and the southern edge of Berlin.

The task of the army is to enter the city of Berlin from the south on the night between 20 and 21 April 1945.

2. The commander of the Fourth gv TA will cross the Spree River on the night of 17 to 18 April 1945, north of Spremberg and develop a headlong offensive in the general direction of Drebkau, Kalau, Dahme and Luckenwalde.

The assignment of this army is to capture the Beelitz, Treuenbritzen and Lukenwalde area by the end of 20 April 1945.

On the night between 20 and 21 April 1945, it is to seize Potsdam and the southwest of Berlin.

In the move of the army toward Potsdam, the Treuenbritzen is to be secured by the Fifth gv mk. Reconnaissance to be conducted in the direction of Sentfenberg, Finsterwalde and Hertzberg.

3. The assault tanks must move along the main direction daringly and firmly.

Cities and large settlements must be bypassed and no protracted frontal combat is to be waged.

I ask it to be firmly understood that the success of the tank armies depends on daring maneuvering and headlong action....

Konev            Kraynyukov            Petrov

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. 48-A, op. 3411, d. 156, ll. 549-550

#### Document 8

From the Directive of Supreme Command Headquarters on Recognition Signs for the Troops Meeting Allied Forces

To the Commanders of the Forces of the First and Second Belorussian and First Ukrainian Fronts

Copy: Commander Red Army Air Force

Commander Red Army BT and MV

20 April 1945

2330 hours

Considering the possibility of an encounter between Soviet troops and Anglo-American forces, by agreement with the command of the Allied forces the following recognition signs and signals have been agreed upon for Soviet and Anglo-American troops.

1. Soviet forces (infantry, tanks, aviation) will identify themselves with a series of red flares.

In addition to the flares, the Soviet tanks will identify themselves with a white line painted around the turret, in the middle, and a white cross on the top of the turret. The strip and the cross must be 25 centimeters wide....

2. The Anglo-American forces (infantry, tanks, aviation) will identify themselves with a series of green flares.

In addition to flares, the Anglo-American tanks and armored vehicles will identify themselves with yellow or cherry red fluorescent (at night) shields and a white five-pointed star, surrounded by a white circle, on the horizontal surface of the tank.

3. In addition to the flare signals, the Soviet and Anglo-American aircraft will be recognized by their national recognition signs.

Supreme Command Headquarters orders:

a) Said signals and recognition signs to be brought to the attention of the troops, tank troops above all, and their actual use be ensured whenever required by the circumstances, i.e., one day prior to the probable meeting with English or American forces.

Furthermore, in order to facilitate the recognition, the troops must be equipped with the silhouettes of British and American tanks and aircraft.

In the case of the aviation, said signals to be applied immediately.

b) When encountering British or American forces, the commanders of tank or combined armies, as agreed upon by the senior commanders of the Allied forces, will establish a temporary tactical demarcation line between Soviet and British or American forces in order to avoid mixing of the troops. Said line must be set on the basis of the factual location of our troops and the British or American troops at the time of the meeting.

Supreme Command Headquarters

J. Stalin  
Antonov

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 132-A, op. 2642, d. 38, ll. 14-15.

#### Document 9

Report by the Commander of the Forces of the First Ukrainian Front on Entering the Southern Part of Berlin by the Front Forces

To Comrade Stalin

22 April 1945  
2000 hours



1. Advance brigades of the Third gv TA Rybalko entered the southern part of Berlin and by 1730 hours were fighting for Teltow and the center of Lankwitz.

2. Fourth gv TA Lelyushenko--the 10th gv tk is engaged in combat in the Sarmund area (10 kilometers southeast of Potsdam).

Konev

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 48-A, op. 3411, d. 156, l. 620

Document 10

From the Address of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front to Privates, Sergeants, Officers and Generals

23 April 1945

Dear comrades!

Your decisive offensive on Berlin, which began 7 days ago by order of Comrade Stalin, Supreme Commander in Chief, was crowned with new glory. Today the combat flags of our heroic units are already victoriously flying over the outskirts and suburbs of Berlin. The decisive hour of combat has come. Ahead of you lies Berlin, the capital of the gangster fascist state and beyond it, the meeting with the forces of our allies and the total victory over the enemy.

The remnants of German units, doomed to die, are continuing to resist. The German command is scraping off its last vestiges of Volksturm reserves, sparing neither old men nor 15-year-old children and is trying to hold back our offensive to postpone the hour of its doom.

Comrade officers, sergeants and Red Army men!

Our units have covered themselves with unfading glory. There were no obstacles to hold you at the walls of Stalingrad, in the steppes of the Ukraine or the forests and swamps of Belorussia. You were not held back by powerful fortifications which you have now surmounted on the approaches to Berlin. In front of you, Soviet heroes, lies Berlin. You must take Berlin and take it as quickly as possible before the enemy has had time to recover.

Let us hurl at the enemy the full power of our combat materiel. Let us mobilize our entire will to win, our minds. Let us not shame our soldierly honor, the honor of our battle flag!

On to the storming of Berlin! On to total and final victory, comrades-in-arms! With courage and daring and joint coordination among all arms and good mutual support, let us sweep off all obstacles and rush forward and forward

only, to the center of the city, to its southern and Western outskirts, toward the Allied forces moving from the west. On to victory!

The Front Military Council believes that the great troops of the First Belorussian Front will honorably carry out their assignment and sweep off the face of the earth the last obstacle and raise their battle flag over Berlin with new victorious glory.

For the honor of our homeland, forward, on to the storming of Berlin!

Marshal for the Soviet Union G. Zhukov, Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front

Lieutenant General Telegin, Member of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 317, op. 4306, d. 547, ll. 164, 164 back.

#### Document 11

Extraordinary Report by the Commander of the Forces of the First Ukrainian Front on Meeting With Allied Forces

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Stalin, Supreme Commander in Chief

27 April 1945  
0200 hours

1. The official meeting between the commander of the 58th gv sd Guards Major General Rusakov (V. V.) and the commander of the 69th pd First American Army, Major General Reinhardt took place on the eastern bank of the Elbe River, in the Torgau area, between 1700 and 1900 hours, on 26 April of this year....

2. The following were present at the encounter between said division commanders:

a) On the American side: the deputy commander of the 69th pd for artillery, Brigadier General Marest, chief of staff of the 69th pd Colonel Peeling, the chief of administrative services of the 69th pd and others. All in all, there were 28 officers;

b) On our side: Guards Colonel Karpovich, chief of the division's political department, Lieutenant Colonel Grebennikov, commander of divisional artillery, and others.

c) The command of the 69th pd of the American army presented the commander of the 58th gv sd the American national flag.

d) The meeting was witnessed by more than 50 foreign photojournalists, correspondents and movie cameramen.

Konev            Kraynyukov            Petrov

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. 48-A, op. 3411, d. 156, ll. 696-697

Document 12

From the Information Report of the General Staff to Supreme Command Headquarters on the Combat Operations of the Forces of the First Belorussian and First Ukrainian Fronts

27 April 1945

2040 hours

...First Belorussian Front

The 47th Army captured the town of Potsdam and cleared Spandau of small enemy groups.

The Second gv Tank, Third Assault, Fifth Assault, First gv Tank and Eighth gv armies continued their fights in Berlin. Elements of the Third Assault Army fought in the northwestern part of the Charlottenburg district. The Fifth Assault Army fought in the center of Berlin, advancing toward the Lerner, Potsdam and Anhalt railroad stations. The Eighth gv Army cleared the Tempelhof district from the enemy.

The Third, 69th and 33rd armies continued to fight for the destruction of the surrounded enemy group in the area southeast of Berlin and, advancing between 2 and 5 kilometers, reached the western edge of Schwerin (13 kilometers southeast of Mittenwalde), Gross-Beschden, Priros, Selhoff, Storkow, Kossenblatt and Krugau (10 kilometers northeast of Lubben).

First Ukrainian Front

The right flank units of the Third gv Army fought for Bidersdorf and the eastern suburb of Lubben. The 7th gv TK of the Third gv Tank Army captured Rulebin, Berlin's western suburb.

The Fourth gv Tank Army captured Novaves and Kaput....

Lieutenant General Gryzlov, Red Army General Staff Deputy Chief of Operative Administration

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 16-A, op. 1075, d. 12, ll. 267-268

Document No 13

From the Report of the Commander of the Forces of the First Ukrainian Front on Surrounding the Frankfurt-Guben Enemy Group

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Stalin, Supreme Commander in Chief

28 April 1945

0245 hours

In developing their offensive toward Berlin, in the course of the operation, the front forces cut off all ways of retreat to the West of the 9th German Army and, after joining forces with the First Belorussian Front at Bonsdorf, in the southeastern outskirts of Berlin, surrounded the Frankdurt-Guben enemy group.

The Frankfurt-Guben enemy group, surrounded southeast of Berlin, stubbornly tried to make its way to Barut in the past 2 days (26 and 27 April 1945).

Prisoners of war have indicated that their order was to breach our positions in the Toititz-Halde sector and then make their way through the forests toward the Elbe River.

The enemy's fierce attacks to break the encirclement are failing.

A group of enemy forces consisting of 10,000 to 12,000 soldiers and officers, which had advanced up to 4 kilometers toward the town of Barut on 26 April 1945 was stopped and destroyed or partially captured by the end of 27 April 1945.

Persistent enemy attacks to force its way in the direction of Lubben were equally unsuccessful.

After repelling all enemy attacks, starting in the morning of 27 April 1945, Gordov's army<sup>5</sup> with the 25th TK and, partially, Luchinskiy's<sup>6</sup> army, mounted a decisive offensive aimed at the total routing of the group.

As a result of the battles, the enemy is suffering severe losses....

Konev      Kraynukov      Petrov

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. 48-A, op. 3412, d. 534, ll. 86-88

Document 14

From the General Staff Information Report to the Supreme Command Headquarters on Battles in the Central Part of Berlin

30 April 1945

1425 hours

...First Belorussian Front



Advancing in the direction of Neue-Ruppin, the 61st Army captured the towns of Zedenik and Gransee and reached the Gransee, Klein-Mutz, Falkensteal and Birnhorst line, having advanced between 8 and 12 kilometers.

The Third and Fifth Assault and Eighth gv armies and the First and Second gv tank armies continued to wage stubborn street combat in the central part of Berlin. The advancing units occupied the buildings of the ministries of Internal Affairs and the Main Postal Administration. A battle was fought for capturing the Reichstag building.

#### The First Ukrainian Front

The Third Guard and 28th armies fought for the destruction of enemy forces which had forced their way to the forests of Statsforst, Stakow, Statsforst-Kummersdorf.

Colonel General Shtemenko, Chief of the Operative Administration, Red Army General Staff

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 16-A, op. 1075, d. 12, l. 279.

#### Document 15

From the Information Report of the General Staff to Supreme Command Headquarters on the Seizure of the Reichstag

30 April 1945

2000 hours

#### ...First Belorussian Front

Advancing in the direction of Neue-Ruppin, the 61st Army advanced by 8 to 15 kilometers and fought on the line 2 kilometers west of Schenermark, Buberow, Lewenberg, the southern outskirts of Linde and 4 kilometers northwest of Saxenhausen.

The Third Assault Army captured entirely the building of the Reichstag....

Colonel General Shtemenko, Chief of the Operative Administration, Red Army General Staff

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 16-A, op. 1075, d. 12, ll. 280-281.

#### Document 16

From the Order of the Commander of the Berlin City Garrison

Berlin City, 30 April 1945

As of this date I have been appointed commander of the garrison and commandant of Berlin City.

By authorization of the Red Army Command, I assume the full administrative and political power.

District and sectorial commandants' offices will be appointed for each city district, based on the old administrative divisions.

I hereby order:

1. The population of the city will maintain full order and remain in place.
2. The National Socialist German Worker Party and all of its subordinate organizations (Hitlerjugend, Frauenschaft, Studentenbund and others) shall be disbanded and their activities shall be banned....
3. Officials of district administrations will report to me on the condition of their establishments and receive instructions on the further work of said establishments.
4. All communal enterprises, such as electric power plants, water services, sewer services, urban transportation (subway, streetcars, trolley buses); all medical institutions; all food stores and bakeries must resume their work to meet the needs of the population.

Blue- and white-collar workers of said establishments will remain in their jobs and continue to carry out their duties.

5. Officials of state food stores and private owners must register within 24 hours of the publication of said order with the district commandants all available food stocks and use them only by permission of the district military commandants.

Henceforth, food stores will issue food on the basis of existing norms and documents until special instructions have been received. Food shall be allocated for periods of no more than 5-7 days. Administrations guilty of violating this law will be strictly prosecuted for illegal food allocations over and above established norms or to individuals who are out of the city.

6. Bank owners and managers will terminate temporarily all financial operations. Safes must be sealed immediately and with a report on the status of their banks submitted to the military commandants' offices....

7. The occupation marks of the Allied Military Command must be mandatorily accepted along the existing Reich currency....

8. The city's population is forbidden:

a) To come out of their homes and be on streets and courtyards or to find or perform any kind of job in nonresidential premises between 2200 and 0800 hours Berlin time;

b) To turn on the lights in their premises without covering the windows;

c) To house with their families or give lodgings to anyone, including Red Army and Allied personnel, without permission of the military commandants;

d) To allow the pilfering of property and food abandoned by establishments and private individuals....

9. The work of entertainment establishments (such as motion picture theaters, legitimate theaters, circuses, sports stadiums), performance of religious ceremonies in churches, the work of restaurants and cafeterias is allowed until 2100 hours Berlin time....

10. The population of the city is warned that it bears responsibility, in accordance with wartime laws, for any hostile attitude toward Red Army and Allied military personnel.

Those guilty of attempts on the lives of Red Army and Allied military personnel or of committing other subversive actions toward the personnel, combat materiel or property of the armed forces of the Red Army or the Allied forces will be court-martialed.

11. Red Army units and individual military servicemen arriving in Berlin must be billeted in areas indicated by the military commandants of districts and sectors.

Red Army personnel are forbidden to expel or relocate population or take over property and valuables and undertake searches of the urban population on their own, without permission of the military commandants.

Colonel General N. Berzarin, Commander of the Fifth Assault Army, Chief of Garrison and Military Commandant of Berlin City

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 233, op. 2356, d. 751, ll. 320-323.

Document 17

From the Report of Chief Marshal of Aviation A. A. Novikov, Representative of the Supreme Command Headquarters, on the Combat Activities of the Aviation

To Supreme Commander in Chief Stalin, J. V.

5 May 1945

I hereby submit a report on the overall results of the combat operations of the Red Army Air Force which participated in the Berlin operation for the period between 16 April and 1 May 1945.

Unlike all previous offensive operations, in 1945 the Berlin operation was the most intensive for the aviation and had a number of distinguishing features. It was characterized by the extensive use of the air force on both sides and fierce battles in the first 5 days of the offensive for supremacy in the air, high saturation with antiaircraft enemy facilities, and the mass and uninterrupted activities of our bombing and diving aircraft in the period of breaching the enemy defenses, and the special conditions which prevailed in the operation of our aviation directly in the battles for Berlin.

The first 5 days of the operation in the air were truly days of air battles, in the course of which, in daylight, uninterrupted combat took place with the participation of a large number of aircraft, simultaneously on both sides. During those 5 days, our fliers engaged in more than 500 aerial combats and brought down 480 enemy fighter aircraft. This struggle for the sky over Berlin was won by our fliers who, already before the end of the operation had firmly secured air supremacy. Our bombing and diving air force carried out the following basic combat assignments:

1. In the first 3 days of the offensive, the aviation of the First Belorussian Front, together with the 18th Air Army, the Sixth Bombers Air Corps, flying TU-2 airplanes, and the Fifth Bombers Air Corps, taken from the Second Belorussian Front, dealt concentrated strikes at enemy defense installations directly ahead of the front line held by our troops and, together with the front artillery, helped them to destroy the enemy defenses on the west bank of the Oder River and ensured the entry of the tank armies of Bogdanov and Katukov into the breach.

2. After the breach of the enemy defense lines, it assisted in the advance of the ground armies and blocked the approach of enemy reserves to the defense lines prepared by the Germans in advance on the approaches to Berlin.

3. During the period of encirclement and the immediate battle for Berlin, they destroyed enemy defenses directly in the city with systematic bomb strikes, using exclusively heavy caliber bombs and demoralizing the defending forces. In carrying out these assignments, between 16 April and 1 May our aviation conducted 39,199 combat sorties, of which 32,157 were in daytime and 7,042 at night....

In carrying out its assignments, our aviation significantly helped the front forces rapidly to carry out and complete the Berlin capture operation.

Novikov

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. 48-A, op. 3413, d. 65, ll. 380-383.



Document 18

Supreme Command Headquarters Order

To Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov, Deputy Supreme Commander in Chief  
7 May 1945

Supreme Command Headquarters hereby authorizes you to ratify the protocol on the unconditional surrender of the German armed forces.

Marshal of the Soviet Union J. Stalin, Supreme Commander in Chief  
Army General Antonov, Red Army Chief of General Staff

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 132-A, op. 2642, d. 39, l. 115.

Document 19

From the Report of the Chief of Staff of the First Belorussian Front on Meeting With Allied Forces

To the Chief of the Red Army General Staff

14 May 1945

I hereby report on meetings between commanders of formations of the First Belorussian Front and commanders of American formations:

61st Army--on 5 May 1945, in Stendal, at the headquarters of the 102nd American Infantry Division, a meeting was held between the commander of the 75th gv sd Major General Gorishnev and Major General Keating, commander of the 102nd American Infantry Division....

47th Army--11 May 1945 (15 kilometers southwest of Ratenow): Colonel Gervasiyev, commander of the 76th sd, met with Major General Keating, commander of the 102nd American Infantry Division. In addition to General Keating, we were visited by Brigadier General Fax, deputy commanding officer of the 102nd pd, Colonel Williams, regimental commander, and several divisional staff officers. A dinner was served. Gifts were presented to the commander of the American division and his deputies....

Third Army--9 May 1945, Colonel Romanenko, commander of the 129th sd, organized a meeting between American soldiers and the division's personnel.

The meeting was attended by 350 Americans and 300 members of the 129th sd. It lasted 5 hours and went well.

69th Army--7 May 1945; a meeting was held between the commander of the 370th sd Major General Govilevskiy and the commander of the 30th American Infantry

Division, Major General Hobbs in the premises of the headquarters of the 117th Regiment, 30th American Infantry Division, in Magdeburg.

A provisional practical line along the Elbe River was established in the course of that meeting; a single crossing point was established for meetings at Magdeburg; the decision was made to establish direct telephone communications between division commanders to settle possible problems; the question of our building a bridge across the Elbe River was resolved.

33rd Army--5 May 1945, at the headquarters of the 83rd American Infantry Division: a meeting was held at Kalbe (15 kilometers south of Schonebek) between Major General Perventsev, chief of the operational department, staff of the 33rd Army, and Major General Bacon, commander of the 83rd American Infantry Division.

In the course of the meeting, the question of the withdrawal of American forces to the west bank of the Elbe River was resolved and a procedure was set according to which no one should cross the line of combat security on either side.....

Colonel General Malinin, Chief of Staff of the First Belorussian Front

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 233, op. 2307, d. 219, ll. 136-145.

Remarks

1. Supreme Command Headquarters issued directives to the fronts for the Berlin offensive operation on 2, 3 and 6 April 1945 (see KOMMUNIST, No 8, 1981).
2. K. F. Pelegin, lieutenant general, member of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front.
3. M. S. Malinin, colonel general, chief of staff of the First Belorussian Front.
4. Similar directives were issued to the commanders of the Fifth Assault, 8th Guard, 31st, 61st and 69th armies and the commanders of the First and Second Guard tank armies.
5. V. N. Gordov, colonel general, commander of the forces of the Third Guard Army.
6. A. A. Luchinskiy, lieutenant general, commander of the forces of the 28th Army.

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## THE NINTH OF MAY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 52-63

[Article by V. Arkhipenko]

[Text] The events which millions of people were waiting for with such impatience took place 40 years ago: Hitlerite Germany, whose army had trampled the soil of most European countries for so many years, surrendered unconditionally.

Nothing could be more desired and cherished by the Soviet people, who had paid for the victory the highest price possible: more than 20 million lives of their sons and daughters. This day became a holiday for the victorious people and will remain one forever, both for those who went through the war and those who will take their place.

The then-published USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase stated:

"In celebration of the victorious completion of the Great Patriotic War waged by the Soviet people against the German-fascist aggressors, and the historical victories won by the Red Army, which were crowned with the total defeat of Hitlerite Germany, which has agreed to unconditional surrender, it is stipulated that 9 May will become a day of nationwide celebration--the celebration of victory.

"9 May will be a nonworking day."

9 May 1945.... The shining line which separates war from peace, the line with which a new peaceful life began.

How saturated that day was! How many events were crowded within a single day, from the moment of surrender to the victorious salute in Moscow!

### The Surrender

The signing of the unconditional surrender of Germany took no more than some 40 minutes. However, these minutes were extremely tense and dramatic.

The crowded hall of the military-engineering school in Karlshorst was literally electrified. The attention of those present was riveted on those who were to sign the historical document. The journalists were describing the expressions on their faces, their gestures and their behavior, hastily recording that the representatives of the Allied Command Tedder, Spaats and De Lattre de Tassigny were ceremoniously strict, that Zhukov's face showed joy and satisfaction, and that Keitel, Friedeburg and Stumpf were somber and downcast.

The journalists were able to note that the arrogant and, until recently still omnipotent Keitel was glancing at Zhukov cursorily, so as not to be noticed. Even under these circumstances, he could not restrain his desire to look at the person who had outstripped the best German military strategists.

The Soviet marshal as well was closely examining his opponent. Subsequently, in his memoirs, he was to note that Keitel, who was trying to preserve his posture, nevertheless looked beaten down, approaching the table uncertainly; his monocle dropped from his eye and hung on its string and his face became blotched with red spots.

This meeting between the Soviet marshal and the German field marshal, who embodied two opposite systems and irreconcilable ideologies, was profoundly symbolic. It was a meeting between the son of a Russian rural cobbler and the scion of a large German landowner; the commander of an army which had defended the right cause and one of the leaders of the plundering Wehrmacht. A communist and a fascist. One, whose image would be gratefully kept in the hearts and minds of millions of people, and the other who was soon to be executed after being sentenced by the tribunal in Nuremburg.

Keitel was the most typical representative of the German General Staff. The plans of all the wars unleashed by the German fascists had been drafted with his participation. It was he who had signed in December 1941 the order which doomed to death hundreds of thousands of Soviet people and, in December 1944, had ordered the shooting of German soldiers and officers, who had tried to surrender. He was Hitler's favorite. He served Hitler loyally, and did not shun open groveling: it was he who, after the defeat of France had raised at the banquet a toast to the "leader of the greatest battle for annihilation in history." It was no accident that it was precisely Keitel who had been asked to head the German military delegation to Compiegne, where he arrogantly dictated the armistice conditions, degrading to France. And now Karlshorst. The document of unconditional surrender.... There was a reason for red spots to appear on the field marshal's face.

When, on Zhukov's sign, the German delegation left the hall with their heads bowed, the marshal turned to those present:

"I congratulate you with the victory!"

He smiled broadly. He was unusually excited, he joked and, naturally, in the Russian custom, invited the participants in the ceremony to the banquet table.



The menu of the ceremonious dinner included, in addition to the turkey with which the guests were well familiar, Ural-style pies, Georgian shish kebab and Russian cabbage soup. It is true that the hosts were somewhat embarrassed by the fact that the cabbage soup had been prepared the day before, for the dinner had been planned for 3 pm on 8 May. The discussions which had dragged on among Moscow, Washington and London on the procedure for signing the surrender had postponed the ceremony and, with it, the dinner, to midnight. However, the resourceful chefs had proclaimed that "the cabbage soup will be a 24-hour soup." The guests loved its taste.

N. A. Antipenko, deputy commander of the First Belorussian Front, recalls the following:

"The banquet was opened by Marshal Zhukov with a brief toast to victory, to the Soviet forces, to the troops of our allies and the health of all those present. Toasts were then offered by the other participants in this late dinner, which ended with songs and, naturally, lively Russian dancing. Marshal Zhukov danced, unsuccessfully rivaled by De Lattre de Tassigny. The French general quickly lost his balance. This did not prevent him from retaining his excellent mood. Everyone was happy and everyone was inspired by the joyful thought of 'victory, peace!'"

The merriment was at its peak when disorderly firing was heard coming from outside. It was the Soviet troops in Berlin and its suburbs who had been informed of the signing of the act of surrender.

Such a spontaneous salute with all types of arms thundered that night wherever the news of the victory arrived. The soldiers fired their rifles, submachine guns and pistols, strings of tracer bullets crossed each other in the night, flares and signaling rockets flew upwards. Marshal K. K. Rokossovskiy was traveling when he heard of the signing of the surrender. He subsequently recalled that "during the night we reached the city where our headquarters was located. All of a sudden, the streets lit up brightly. Street lights and windows lit up. This was so unexpected that I became confused. I did not immediately realize that this meant an end to the blackout. The war had ended!"

There was tempestuous rejoicing everywhere--in all subunits, units and large units of the Karelian, Leningrad, First Baltic, Third Belorussian and Fourth Ukrainian fronts, scattered over the 4,000-kilometer distance from the Barents Sea to the Adriatic.

Everywhere, during those happy minutes, the soldiers remembered their brothers-in-arms who had not reached with them the victorious end, those who had brought closer the moment of the great triumph with their blood and life. The soldiers' memory of the fallen is sacred and eternal!

In his memoirs, Marshal I. Kh. Bagramyan described the following episode:

"I remember an old guardsman with tears running slowly down his cheeks and hanging like transparent drops on his moustache. I asked him:

"What is with you, old man, to be crying during such a happy day?"

Without brushing off his tears, he quietly said:

"Pity for the comrades who did not live to see this bright day of our victory."

The poet who wrote about joy with tears was profoundly right....

The victorious army exulted. Meanwhile, the news of the victory was spreading around the country. The people hugged each other, laughed and cried in their great joy. The joy was universal, overwhelming everyone.... The steel smelters in Magnitka, the Tula weapons makers, the Vladivostok longshoremen and the builders of reviving Stalingrad exulted.... Stars were lit up over mines and shafts, and the locomotive engines whistled along all main railroads. In the Hall of Acts of Leningrad University more than 1,000 students and teachers gathered spontaneously in the middle of the night. The people had come by themselves, motivated by a single spiritual thrust.

In the warm and clear morning the beating of pans thundered in towns and villages and the great holiday spirit spread throughout the streets. There were meetings, manifestations and popular celebrations....

Tanks and self-propelling artillery, which would no longer fight, paraded past the rostrum, under thunderous ovations, on the Square imeni Pervaya Pyatiletka in Sverdlovsk. Dressing flags were flown on damaged navy ships in Murmansk. Columns of prisoners of war from the routed Kurland enemy group were still being marched along the Latvian roads, while the happy people danced and sang in the villages along the roads. Wherever the happy news arrived a general exultation started. Life itself had clearly confirmed the justice of the words of poet Nikolay Tikhonov, who had written about the victory that "our nationwide celebration will spread like an unparalleled triumph. It will march along the cities, it will not forget even the smallest place, it will rise to the highest peaks, it will almost reach the pole, in our polar stations it will shine in the tayga and in the lights of ships sailing under the Soviet flag...."

#### The Final Battles

On the Western Front, Wehrmacht soldiers, officers and generals were surrendering to the Allied forces much more actively than on the Eastern Front. This was understandable, for the German military had committed too many monstrous crimes in the cities and villages of Belorussia, the Ukraine and Moldavia, the Baltic Soviet republics and the Russian Federation. Those whose hands had been bloodied hoped (and, as it subsequently became clear, not without reason) that the British and American command would look through their fingers at what they had done in the east.

However, the act of surrender applied to all Wehrmacht units and formations. Units which had resisted to the very end in the estuary of the Vistula and the Putziger-Nerung strip, began to surrender on the morning of 9 May. The Narvik operative group surrendered in Norway and the garrison on Bornholm Island lay down its arms to the Baltic fleet landing forces.

However, on Czechoslovak and Austrian territory, groups commanded by General Field Marshal F. Schorner and Colonel General L. Rendulitsch, refused to surrender. Both commanders were clearly aware of the fact that resistance was senseless. However, their objective was to make their way to the American forces and surrender to them alone. Both groups numbered slightly under 1 million soldiers and officers.

The Group of Armies Center was commanded by Ferdinand Schorner, one of the most fanatical German generals, a close friend of Hitler's from the time of the Munich Putsch. Shortly before the end of the war, he had been appointed commander in chief of all land forces. Schorner decided to conceal from his forces the capitulation order. It was precisely against the "Austria" and "Center" groups that the armies of the First, Second and Fourth Ukrainian fronts had been engaged at that time in the major Prague strategic operation.

However, the plans of the Soviet command were amended by the workers of Pilsen, the miners of Kladno and the population of Prague, who rose against the hated occupation forces. The uprising was stormy and desperately brave. However, the forces were too unequal. The fascists fired at the barricades point-blank with the guns of tanks and self-propelling systems and artillery batteries.

Through the thunder of the fire and the various voices and the Morse code, the Soviet field radio stations would hear the call of the fighting people of Prague: "Ruta Armada, help!..."

The decision was immediately taken to launch the Prague operation ahead of schedule.

On 6 May units of the First Ukrainian Front rushed south; 1,600 tanks and self-propelling artillery systems rolled along, clearing the way for the advancing troops. The very next day advance elements had reached the foothills of the Rudny mountains. The enemy tried to resist but the advance of the armored avalanche could be stopped only for a short time with obstructions, ambushes or blown-up bridges.

Early in the morning of 8 May, tanks of the Fifth Guard Mechanized Corps caught up on a mountain road with a column of cars and trucks packed with German officers, dispersed it and, without stopping, moved on. Yet, this event, which the tank men considered insignificant, had most serious consequences for the further fate of Schorner's forces, for these dispersed and destroyed cars contained the personnel and property of the enemy Group Center Headquarters, which was being relocated from Jaromerz to Karlovy Vary. Its destruction totally paralyzed the army's command.

The pace and scale of the Prague operation grew with every passing hour. All armies of the three fronts were advancing along the huge front from Dresden to the Danube. The tank units of the First Ukrainian Front were the closest to the Czechoslovak capital. They crossed the Rudny mountains on 8 May and started rolling down the plain. The night found them on the way.

That night, however, there was no sleeping for the Soviet troops. There was only a brief respite sufficient to refuel the tanks, to load up ammunition and eat hastily. The distance to Prague was 80 kilometers.

Moscow Radio had already announced Germany's surrender. The long-awaited peace had arrived over huge areas of Europe, tortured by the war. Meanwhile the tank men were hastening toward Prague, to their final battle.

...Dawn was breaking over the Vltava, when the lead tanks rushed into the city's suburb and rolled toward the center. The people of Prague welcomed the Soviet troops with enthusiasm, helped to clear obstacles, indicated the areas in which the Hitlerites had set up ambushes and where their firing points and mined areas were located, and named the streets and alleys from which the enemy could be hit from the rear.

The enemy was not surrendering but resisting fiercely. Particularly fierce battles developed in the center of the city, at the Staronest Square, the Ziskoz area, not far from the railroad station, and the river crossings. The fight for the liberation of Prague lasted more than 6 hours.

The guns were still firing while an enthusiastic sea of people was crowding streets and squares. Soviet soldiers and officers were hugged, people danced around them and threw flowers at them. Any Soviet military engine appearing on the crowded streets would be immediately so thickly surrounded by people that it could no longer advance.

Strange situations appeared. I. S. Konev, commander of the First Ukrainian Front, was awaiting detailed reports on the situation in the city but obtaining them proved to be rather difficult.

"From time to time," the marshal recalls, "I received reports on the radio but all of them were, I would say, exceedingly brief: 'Prague taken.' 'Prague taken.' 'Prague is ours....' Yet I had to report to Supreme Commander in Chief J. V. Stalin not merely that Prague had been taken but under what circumstances it had been taken, what resistance had been encountered and where. I had to report if an organized enemy still existed and if he did, in what direction had he retreated. In a word, the day of the liberation of Prague was a worrisome one for me. Communications officers and brigade, division and corps commanders disappeared--everyone was disappearing! This is what the popular enthusiasm means and what its results are!"

That is precisely why the news of the liberation of the Czechoslovak capital reached Supreme Headquarters with a delay. Prague was totally captured and cleared from the enemy by 10 am. The same day, the mobile elements of the Second Ukrainian Front and advance elements of the Fourth Ukrainian Front, which included the tanks of the first separate Czechoslovak tank brigade, entered the Czechoslovak capital as well.

However, there was also sadness in this infinite river of joy. Two thousand people of Prague had died on the barricades and many Soviet troops lost their lives in the final battle....



Some Red Army soldiers and officers were buried not in cemeteries but in the city itself. Capt Mikhail Semin was buried on Smetana Square. Guards Capt Ivan Shevchenko was buried on the bank of the Vltava, not far from the Parliament building. The brief inscription on his grave read "Died for the Liberation of Czechoslovakia and the Entire World."

On that same day in May they also buried Guards Lt Ivan Goncharenko, commander of Tank No 23 of the 63rd Guards Brigade. His thunderous tank had rushed out of Berlin at maximal speed. He was the first, at 3 am, to enter Prague. He was the first to rush to the bridge on the Vltava. He was the first to be hit by camouflaged German self-propelling guns. The tank was hit by four shells, the crew were wounded and shell-shocked and its commander was mortally wounded.

Tank No 23, which Lieutenant Goncharenko commanded to the very last battle, at the dawn of 9 May 1945, stands to this day on a pedestal in a Prague street named after the Soviet tank men, as an eternal memory to him and all those who fell in that battle.

Many other monuments to Soviet soldiers have been erected in the cities and villages of Czechoslovakia. About 140,000 Red Army soldiers and officers fell in the course of its liberation.

Battles on Czechoslovak territory continued even after Prague had been totally cleared of the Hitlerites. Scattered Group Center units were still trying to reach the American forces. Actually, their combat spirit would drop the moment they would find themselves face to face with a Soviet soldier. Such an event was described in the newspaper of the Second Ukrainian Front SUVOROVSKIY NATISK by Major G. Kireyev:

"The armored troop vehicles were rushing ahead. The task assigned to the group of Soviet submachine gunners was to catch up with the German forces in their disorderly retreat and force them to surrender. In the morning, our troops caught up with a group of Germans numbering up to two regiments. More than 2,000 soldiers and officers surrendered. Three hours later, the armored troop carriers caught up with a German artillery regiment; the Hitlerites waved a white flag and surrendered. It was thus that in the course of four days, the troops in five armored troops carriers forced more than 6,000 German soldiers and officers to surrender."

However, individual SS detachments, whose bloody crimes during the war left for them no hope of any mercy or leniency, resisted and, sometimes, fought to the last bullet. The Vlasovites from a division which was part of the Group of Armies Center, also tried to flee. The forces of the 25th Separate Tank Corps caught up with the division and disarmed it. Vlasov himself was detained by M. I. Yakushev, commander of the Motorized Infantry Battalion. The traitor was taken to Dresden, where Marshal I. S. Konev's command center was located, and then to Moscow by airplane, where a trial and deserved punishment awaited him.

Schorner almost avoided retribution. Abandoning the remnants of the defeated forces, he flew to the Tyrol in a private aircraft, landed not far from

Mitersil and from there tried to "flee" to the Americans. However, honoring the agreement, toward the end of May they delivered him to the Soviet command. Schorner was tried in Moscow for military crimes and sentenced to a long term in prison.

The Prague offensive operation lasted 6 days. It was successfully completed on 11 May. Soviet troops met with advance elements of the American army on the Hemnitz, Karlovy Vary and Pilsen line.

...The Soviet Informburo continued to issue communiques even after Victory Day. They included information on the last combat operations of the First, Second and Fourth Ukrainian fronts, and reported on the surrender of German military personnel along the various sectors of the former Soviet-German front. Thus, the operative communique for 14 May stated that since the surrender had begun, more than 1,230,000 German soldiers and officers and 101 generals had been taken prisoner.

The final Sovinformburo communique was issued on 16 May. It was one line long:

"The acceptance of captured German soldiers and officers has ended along all the fronts."

#### The Moscow Salute

When radio stations spread throughout the world the news of the surrender with Germany, a wave of enthusiasm spread over millions of people who had experienced the mortal clash with the terrible enemy. The peoples of the countries liberated from the fascist yoke rejoiced and so did the allies in the struggle--the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Demonstrations and celebrations took place in the capitals of all the countries which had participated in the struggle against fascism.

Nevertheless, no other capital in the world could match the celebration in Moscow. It was precisely because it was at its walls that the seemingly undefeatable wave of Hitlerite invasions had been stopped in 1941, and it was precisely here that the myth of the invincibility of the fascist armies had been scattered. The city had not been proclaimed a city hero as yet but a hero city it already was.

Those who never saw Moscow in May 1945 would find it difficult today to imagine the way it was then. Today's large residential Kuntsevo district was still a city in Moscow Oblast, while Chertanovo, Yasenevo, Medvedkovo, Troparevo and Cheremushki were villages around Moscow. Leninskiy, Komsomol'skiy, Kutuzovskiy and Kalininskiy prospekts and the park streets did not exist. The Lenin Hills University and other tall buildings had not been built, nor had been the Ostankino Television Center and Tower, the Central Sports Stadium imeni V. I. Lenin in Luzhniki, the tourist complex in Izmaylovo, the panoramic presentation of the "Battle of Borodino" and the exhibition hall near the Crimean Bridge, Cosmonaut Alley and the Olympic projects, the Rossiya and Kosmos hotels and many others, which have become

landmarks today, were not there. Moscow was essentially a city of low buildings and, as the veterans feel today, more homey and cosy.

This city, which had experienced the war, still retained its marks--traces of paper strips on window panes, "Bomb Shelter" signs not removed from buildings. There were still cracks in the walls of the Vakhtangov Theater, hit by a fascist bomb in the autumn of 1941. No one was as yet drafting construction plans for the vacant plot not far from the Ovchinnikovskaya Naberezhnaya, which had appeared after the explosion of a heavy-caliber bomb, which had destroyed an entire lane. At that time, all Muscovites remembered the places where barrage balloons had been moored along the boulevards. Until recently, there had been a blackout and no more than a week had passed since the stars on the Kremlin towers had begun to cast their ruby red light once again.

No one at that time knew what Moscow would become decades later. However, it was held infinitely precious by everyone. It became even more precious and close to the hearts of the people during the war. In its firmness and invincibility, the capital of our homeland was an example which the people needed so badly as they concentrated their final forces in the mortal clash with the enemy. Naturally, when the great day of triumph came, it was above all on it that the entire Soviet people concentrated their thrilled attention.

The Muscovites themselves, as well as those who found themselves in the capital at that time, were carried away by the human maelstrom, when, at 3 am, the radio announced the victory. Never before had the streets at night been so crowded and noisy. But how could one remain home after hearing this? This was not part of our nature. Could such a tremendous happiness be kept to oneself? People came out of their homes with guitars and accordions, or dragging out old gramophones. Thousands of people danced on the squares, as though in huge ballrooms, and impassioned songs were heard.

Not even an hour had passed since the radio announcement when flags began to appear on the buildings. The facade of the Natsional displayed other flags: the decision had been made to raise the flags of the countries whose representatives lived in that hotel. The Moges building, on Raushskaya Naberezhnaya was lit up.

Newspaper editors were changing their headlines, TASS operators were reporting the news of the victory for the entire press of the Soviet Union, radio journalists were collecting the first interviews on the streets, for their morning broadcasts. The Central Telegraph was working at 10 times the usual load, and endless lines of people were lining up at its windows, hastening to greet relatives and friends. That night, party committee workers did not shut their eyes. Meetings were held at enterprises where night shifts were at work.

Nor was there any sleep in the barracks of Moscow garrison. The moment the announcement of the surrender of Hitlerite Germany was received, meetings began. Major N. Ivanov, the officer in charge at the higher military antiaircraft school, wrote in his report: "I am reporting that during my

watch a major historical event occurred: the Great Patriotic War ended with the great victory of Soviet arms."

The morning in Moscow was rarely sunny and warm. The last days had not been merciful to the Muscovites, for May rains had been falling on the city for the past 3 days. On 9 May, however, the sun rose over the capital in a cloudless sky. It was as though by order that the birches and, something particularly amazing, the linden trees on Moscow boulevards, blossomed.

The radio reported what was taking place in the country and throughout the world. 9 May had been proclaimed a holiday and a medal "For Victory Over Germany in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945" had been coined. A state loan had been raised for more than 25 billion rubles; speed smelting had taken place at the Moscow Serp i Molot Plant and the Zapadno-Kapital'naya Mine, one of the largest in the coal basin, had been rebuilt in the Donbass.

Toward the evening, the human rivers running toward Red Square grumbled once again on Moscow's streets. Gradually, the human masses blocked the streets leading to the center, stopping all traffic. Any one in military uniform was surrounded by a thick circle of people and any soldier or officer wearing on his chest the star of Hero of the Soviet Union would be raised above the heads of the crowd and not put down for long periods of time.

Everyone tried to reach the square hallowed with glory, between Manezhnaya Square, Razin or 25th October streets and the embankment.

All those who, as in the familiar film, had agreed to meet at 6 pm after the war was over, tried to make their way, in the incredible crush, to the Bol'shoy Kamennyy Bridge. A KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA correspondent was able to photograph one such meeting: between Marina Gromova and her schoolmate Oleg Razumov, who had become battalion commander at the front and was the bearer of two combat orders. This battalion commander was all of 19....

So many people had gathered that evening on Red Square that no one was able to count them. However, I can certify, as an eyewitness, to the fact that, as the saying goes, an apple thrown in the air could not have fallen on the ground. There were perhaps tens of thousands of people but how many tens there were nobody knew. Despite the tremendous crowding, the people were orderly and acted in an organized fashion and no quarrels broke out anywhere.

When the Kremlin bells struck eight, a volley thundered in honor of the forces of the First Ukrainian Front, which had liberated Prague. This was warmly welcomed, although the people may have become accustomed to such events, for in recent months Moscow had fired such volleys frequently. Nevertheless, the main salute, the last, the victorious one, was awaited impatiently!

The minute arm on the Spasskaya Tower clock had completed its circle, when the customary call sign sounded on the loudspeakers and Levitan's familiar voice was heard:

"This is Moscow! Fascist Germany has been defeated.... In honor of this heroic victory, at 2200 hours today, there will be a salute...."



The final preparations were under way at the antiaircraft batteries and the searchlight subunits. One thousand guns was no joke. The same number of guns were used sometimes for large front-line operations. Hundreds of other guns from the Moscow area were added to those permanently stationed within the capital. Some of them had protected the skies over Moscow from enemy raids in 1941 and 1942; others had fired at enemy tanks on the approaches to the capital, at Khlebnikovo and the Dmitrovskiy Highway.

The searchlight crews consisted essentially of women. Girls in their neat shirts and rakishly angled hats stood by their cumbersome searchlights. Another 1,000 searchlights were deployed as well. They surrounded Moscow in four concentric circles.

...The bells of the Spasskaya Tower struck 10. At their very first ring the sky lit up, the dry thunder of the guns struck and the earth shook under our feet. The skyline was still lit when multicolored flares burst in the sky, it was as though dozens of glimmering umbrellas had been deployed over the city; the searchlights which were turned on at the same time shifted their focused beams in a trembling lilac-colored pattern.

Once again there was the thunder of a salute and the bouquets of flowers in the night sky and, after each volley, the powerful shouts of "Hooray!" which could be heard from the Kremlin hill to the most distant outskirts. The exultation in the suburbs as well was indescribable. People gathered on the roofs of the tallest buildings just to see the reflections of the ceremonious salute.

Yes, Moscow had never experienced such a thing before. After 30 victorious volleys had thundered off, a night aerial parade began in the skies over Moscow: airplanes with their signal lights on circled over the city and, like a rain of stars, red, orange, yellow, green and white flares poured onto the capital.

The portrait of the supreme commander in chief was slowly raised from the construction site of the Palace of Soviets; the 320-meter flag of the USSR was raised as well. Both were lit up with the beacons of the searchlights and could be visible not only from central but distant Moscow streets as well.

It would be difficult to say when the people's marches on squares and streets ended. They scattered to their homes unwillingly. Many of them welcomed the day of peace, separated from the terrible war by the victory celebration, sleepless.

Along with the entire land of the soviets, Moscow was beginning a new life.

#### Initial Assessments

The news of the surrender of Hitlerite Germany and the total victory of the right cause gave the people an influx of strength and awakened the need to find the meaning of what had been accomplished, to understand and to reinterpret the way in which we had won.

Today, as we leaf through the yellowing issues of newspapers for May 1945, we clearly see the wish to analyze the meaning of this historical event, to evaluate it objectively and to determine the significance which the great victory had in terms of the future.

"The news came at night, the news that we had won the victory over fascist Germany. How joyful, how amazing, how unique! Hitlerite Germany is no more. The black force which had tortured the peoples for so long is no more."

--FRONTOVAYA PRAVDA, the newspaper of the Second Belorussian Front.

"We saw the victory from the very first hour of our battle, for we began to fight for our just cause. Victory was gained through the hard but glorious battles at Moscow and Stalingrad and at the walls of Lenin's city. The word victory was enhanced with each new battle. We went to victory with every new day."

--KRASNAYA ARMIYA, newspaper of the First Belorussian Front.

"Hitlerite Germany fell, overthrown by the force of the Soviet troops. The assertion of this sentence passed by mankind over Hitlerism is the glory of the Red Army and, with it, the entire Soviet people."

--TRUD.

"Today the Red Army is presenting the Soviet people with the greatest victory in history. Accept it, heroic Soviet people, for you earned it through your honor and glory! It contains your long years of patient work, four years of your dedicated efforts and privations, the result of your will, fearlessness and courage, the reward for the sadness, losses and destruction. You earned it through toil and blood. Let happiness enter your heart...."

--IZVESTIYA.

"Today is a day of nationwide celebration. It is the celebration of victory. We waited for it long and selflessly. We saw it in our sleep and our reality. We dreamed of it and hastened for it. However, that is not why it came. Our victory celebration came because we fought for it. It came because we shed sweat and blood for it. It came because many of our brothers and sisters gave their lives for its advent."

--KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

"It comes out today to celebrate its victory--the people-giant, the people-hero, the people--winner. That which the people accomplished is so grandiose that no historical comparison is possible. The world has not known any mass heroism similar to the one the Soviet people proved capable of at the front and the rear. The people have never known dedication, firmness and courage similar to those found in millions of men and women and boys and girls of our Soviet fatherland."

--KRASNYI FLOT.

"We are celebrating the victory of the Red Army and, with us, all freedom-loving peoples, our allies, are celebrating. The routing of Hitlerite Germany proved that there is no enemy force which can withstand the pressure of the

united nations, inspired by the lofty ideals of defending civilization, culture and democracy."

--PRAVDA.

"We finished off the fascist beast. Behind the steel shield of the Red Army, our people will strengthen the power of the Great Socialist State. What tremendous creative prospects are opening to us today! What great constructive accomplishments await us!"

--KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA.

On Victory Day the radio stations of the Soviet Union broadcast J. V. Stalin's appeal to the people.

"Now," he said, "We can say with full justification that the historical day of the definitive routing of Germany, the day of the great victory of our people over German imperialism, has come.

"The great sacrifices we made for the sake of the freedom and independence of our homeland, the incalculable privations and sufferings experienced by our people during the war and the tense work in the rear and at the front, dedicated to the altar of the fatherland, were not wasted and were crowned with total victory over the enemy. The age-old struggle of the Slavic people for their existence and their independence ended with victory over the German aggressors and German tyranny.

"Henceforth the great flag of the freedom of the peoples and peace among peoples will fly over Europe.

"Three years ago, Hitler declared to the entire nation that his task was to dismember the Soviet Union and take away from it the Caucasus, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic and other areas. He openly said that 'we shall destroy Russia so that it can never rise again.' This was 3 years ago. However, Hitler's ravings were not to come true, for the course of the war ground them into dust. The result was something directly opposite to what the Hitlerites were raving about. Germany has been crushingly defeated. The German troops are surrendering. The Soviet Union is celebrating its victory, although it has no intention of either dismembering or destroying Germany...."

Naturally, those days the newspapers carried on their front pages the messages of the heads of the Allied countries, in which they assessed the role of the Soviet people in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and wrote of the prospects for postwar cooperation.

From the message of General Charles de Gaulle to the head of the Soviet government:

"Great Russia and you personally deserve the recognition of all of Europe, which can live and prosper only by being free."

On 9 May, Mrs Clementine Churchill, who was in Moscow, read on the radio a message to the Red Army and the Russian people sent by her husband W. Churchill. "Here, in our island homeland," he assured, "today we think of you

quite frequently and we send from the depths of our hearts wishes for happiness and prosperity. We wish for all the sacrifices and sufferings of this valley of tears through which we crossed together, now, in a state of loyal friendship and sympathy, to walk further on under the bright sun of victorious peace."

On the previous day a message had been received from the U.S. president with greetings to the Soviet people and army. "Now," Truman wrote, "when Soviet and Anglo-American forces have forced the armies of the fascist aggressors into unconditional surrender, I wish to present to you and through you to your heroic armies, the warm greetings of our people and their government. We highly value the splendid contribution made by the powerful Soviet Union to the cause of civilization and freedom. You proved the ability of the freedom-loving and highly brave people to crush the evil forces of barbarism, however powerful they may have been. On the occasion of our common victory we greet the people and army of the Soviet Union and their excellent leadership."

...That is what they wrote in May 1945. However, only a year later, Truman and Churchill would forget about the "loyal friendship and sympathy" and the wish "to go on walking under the bright sun of victorious peace" and to begin to gather over the planet the clouds of the "cold war," a war against their recent ally.

What can we say, an "unexpected surprise" was presented at that time to the Soviet people, on the first anniversary of the commonly shared victory.... It was as of then that accusations and threats were launched, pressure and blackmail, the establishment of military bases and blocs directed against us, the formulation of plans for local and global wars, and an increased arms race moved into ever new areas, including space.

The military psychosis is being intensified to this day. The lessons of the past war have clearly not been learned by today's saber-rattling amateurs. How not to recall at this point Dem'yan Bednyy's words on our great victory:

It is a serious warning  
To future, as yet unknown, enemies.

These lines were written 40 years ago but sound as though they were expressed today. Truly, no one could say it better!

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## CADRE POLITICAL CULTURE AND WORK STYLE

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[Article by G. Kryuchkov, head of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Organizational-Party Work Department]

[Text] The creative and inspiring force of the Leninist party is becoming greater and clearer, stage after stage, and congress after congress, and its influence in all realms of Soviet social life is growing. The comprehensive and realistic consideration of the complex variety of factors, the characteristics of social development and the Leninist ability "promptly to take into consideration and to know where to concentrate one's main forces and attention" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 85) guarantee the strictly scientific nature and understanding and support by the masses of CPSU policy and all activities.

It is common knowledge that achievements in any area of social practice depend on the specific performers. The attitude of the manager toward his assignment, his understanding of party policy tasks and ideological and moral aspect and ability to attract the people are all transmitted to those around him and, in the final account, have a determining impact on shaping united and able-bodied collectives and establishing a healthy moral and psychological atmosphere within them.

This truth is particularly relevant today. More than ever before, it is important for the Leninist traditions of daily political work among the masses to become a deep inner need felt by managers on all levels, and for the content and forms of party political work and management methods to be more fully consistent with the qualitatively new social development tasks. "In all sectors, everywhere," the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized, "the party members must set an example of the implementation of civic duty and conscientious work for the good of society. They must comprehensively assert the Leninist work style. This applies, above all, to party cadres and party and state leaders."

That is why one of the most important tasks in contemporary party cadre policy is further advancing practical and political cadre training, intensifying their ideological tempering and shaping their high-level political standards and radical improvements in the style of all management activities.

In their work with cadres, the republic's party organizations take into consideration that with the growth of social maturity of Soviet society and the intensification of socialist democracy and increased conscientiousness and activeness of the citizens, the significance of the political and moral values of socialism increase and the concept of "political standard," as applicable to people directly involved in management and organizational activities, is enriched. Naturally, ensuring the priority and primacy of the political approach in all problems of economic, social and spiritual life, that which V. I. Lenin, as we know, considered the ABC of Marxism (see op. cit., vol 42, p 278) retains its determining significance.

The political standard of a manager expresses his ability to pass on to the working people his ideological convictions, to organize and inspire them, and to lead them to the implementation of practical tasks. This concept includes the standard of communicating with the masses, the organic need to deal with their political education on a daily basis and to raise them not only through his words but through an efficient organization of the work and personal example. In other words, political standards mandatorily presume "for party-mindedness to be," as Lenin pointed out, "not merely a word but an action" (op. cit., vol 19, p 110).

In order systematically to implement the party's political course and to achieve its planned strategic and tactical objectives, it takes more than loyalty to party ideals and good theoretical training. Knowledge of revolutionary theory must become the inner conviction and convert into specific actions which determine the life stance of the individual. This is particularly important under contemporary conditions when, as was pointed out at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the role of the human factor and the significance of the creative principle increase in all sectors of social life.

Taking this into consideration, the party organizations show particular concern for developing in the leading cadres qualities, such as extensive erudition, the ability to think on a broad scale and to sum up the facts and phenomena of social life, to interpret the experience of practical activities, to draw political lessons from it, to determine typical trends on time and to support the people's initiative.

The party organizations see to it that, politically the leaders set the example of impeccable implementation of official duties and are a model of practicality, purposefulness and principle-mindedness always and in everything and have the ability to lead the people to the implementation of specific assignments.

Such qualities are shaped above all in the course of sociopolitical activities. At the same time, equipping the leading cadres and all party members with Marxist-Leninist theory and developing their ability to think creatively and to ensure in practical terms unity among ideological, organizational and economic work are of the greatest possible significance.

The expanded political education system is specifically turned in that direction. This school year, more than 2.3 million people in the Ukraine are involved in political training on all levels. Another 1.3 million are acquiring political knowledge through mass forms of political training, and nearly 6.6 million are taking political training courses. The programs and curricula of schools, seminars and universities, aimed at different audiences, enable the students deeply to master the fundamental concepts of Marxism-Leninism and to study the historical experience of the CPSU and the topical problems of its economic, social and national policy.

The facilities of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Higher Party School are being extensively used in training a reliable reserve of skilled political managers. In the postwar years, 22,000 party members have graduated from such schools. Currently, one-half of all party obkom secretaries, nearly two-thirds of gorkom and raykom secretaries and many members of soviet and Komsomol bodies, the press, television and radio in the republic have party-political training.

The mastery of revolutionary theory and skills of political work among the masses has always been the prime duty of the party members and an inviolable statutory requirement. Today the significance of the activities of party organizations in the ideological training of cadres becomes even more important. This is due, first of all, to the need to master truly innovative and creative party conclusions and stipulations and the political meaning of the realistic and comprehensively weighed CPSU strategy for perfecting developed socialism and, secondly, to the quality changes in Soviet society, the overwhelming majority of which consists of people, who are not simply knowledgeable and educated but also comprehensively developed, erudite and politically active.

Also taken into consideration is the unparalleled aggravation of ideological confrontation in the world, accompanied by refined imperialist and revisionist propaganda attempts to defame our system and morality and to weaken the class awareness of the working people. Under such circumstances, party members and leading cadres deem it their most important duty to use all facilities of revolutionary theory in struggling against their ideological opponents, substantively to expose the slanderous fabrications of foreign anti-Soviet centers, properly to rebuff demagogues and malevolent people and, on the basis of accurate class positions, accurately to assess social processes and phenomena and prove the superiority of the socialist way of life.

The party organizations see to it that every managing worker embody in his activities the political views and concepts inherent in the vanguard of the progressive class, combine knowledge with convictions and moral purity, and be a skillful organizer and authoritative educator of the masses, a pedagogue and a psychologist.

It was noted at the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Plenum, which was held last March to discuss problems of practical implementation of contemporary

CPSU cadre policy, that the republic party organization has trained a large detachment of experienced and politically mature organizers, who possess high moral qualities. They are characterized by ideological convictions, a statesmanlike approach to the work, a sharpened feeling for the new and the desire to learn how to work. With their purposefulness and enthusiasm they are able to create an atmosphere of true enthusiasm and creativity in the collectives.

...It is no easy matter to head the more than 200,000-strong party organization in the republic's capital. This imposes special requirements and here work is assessed on the basis of the highest criteria, for it must set the tone and the example. The fact that today the Kiev city party organization meets these requirements is greatly due to its leading cadres and, naturally, to Yu. N. Yelchenko, the city party committee first secretary. As an experienced party worker, he is able to think about the main and primary problems, among the many others, and to rely in resolving them on the experience, knowledge and initiative of the broad party aktiv, the specialists and the scientists.

The city party committee is the organizer of the mass movement of the people of Kiev under the slogans of "achieve all production growth without increasing the number of working people, through higher labor productivity," "highest possible returns per working hour" and "everything best goes for the children." In preparing to meet worthily the 27th Party Congress, the Kiev working people are successfully fulfilling their five-year plan for all most important indicators.

A one-of-a-kind exhibit has been set up not far from Kiev: "Thrift Reserves in the Ukrainian National Economy," sponsored by the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan. The 2,500 exhibits shown here, each one of which is specifically identified and the specific officials in charge of it named, hits irresponsibility and an indifferent attitude toward the people's good, on the one hand, and promotes, with the help of vivid and convincing examples, the inventive and truly economical approach to the utilization of resources, on the other. The initiator of this exhibit was P. I. Mostovoy, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee member and head of the republic's Gosplan. As a passionate propagandist for everything new and progressive, he energetically undertook to create in the republic regional intersectorial centers for processing metal goods for industrial use, the utilization of which will enable us to save more than 2 million tons of scarce rolled metal annually. A similar production facility is being created for treating construction materials for technological use. A high-output cardboard and paper combine was set up to recycle paper. These and other steps have greatly contributed to the fact that today the Ukraine is in one of the leading positions in the country in the percentage of recycled raw materials and waste in the overall volume of resources used.

This is what a profound party attitude by a manager toward assignments means in practical terms!

This makes us even more concerned with still-encountered cases of lack of discipline, indifference and inertia. Unquestionably, this is the effect of



errors made in cadre selection. However, something else is manifested as well, i.e., the inability of a manager to see the line which separates the fully understandable and substantiated concern for the interests of the sector, region or collective, and actions which conflict with the national interests. This, above all, is the reason for the persistence of ills such as departmentalism, parochialism and bureaucratism. Their prime reason lies in the low political standards of some personnel. Hence narrow practicalism which does not go beyond daily concerns, a technocratic narrow-minded approach to the implementation of obligations and the feeling of dependency shown by some managers.

Not all workers have as yet fully realized the vital need to accelerate the pace of socioeconomic development and economic intensification. They do not always think of the cost at which plans are being fulfilled, or if results are consistent with real possibilities and are available reserves used fully? The leading personnel of the ministries of the light, timber and timber processing industries in the republic were particularly sharply criticized at the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Plenum. Unfortunately, even the managers of progressive farms, enterprises and organizations are not immune to the treacherous virus of tolerance, complacency and conservatism.

In training the cadres, the party organizations teach them to approach any problem of economic activities from lofty political positions and aim them at upgrading the responsibility and intensifying their levels of organization, practicality and order. Life itself and the basic needs of the economy of developed socialist society have raised such a seemingly purely economic problem as observing planning and contractual discipline to the level of major political problems. Naturally, it is difficult to classify as mature a manager who does not understand this, who does not take into consideration the national meaning of his work, who puts above everything departmental or parochial interests, who does not ensure deliveries of necessary commodities to the state, who is not interested in achieving best end results in production activities, who is not interested in progressive experience and the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress and who replaces a political-economic approach with expressing general views.

The following circumstance must be considered as well: today, in virtually all sectors we find people with proper general, specialized and political training. Many of them are members of leading party organs or soviet deputies. Why is it that among them we come across workers who tolerate shortcomings and omissions and who even violate the discipline, and whose actions and steps occasionally clash with our norms and principles?

Naturally, the question of the effectiveness and quality of the political training of managerial cadres assumes priority. Results of such training are not always what they should be. This was indicated, for example, in the course of the discussion by the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee on the report submitted by the Voroshilovgrad party obkom. A number of oblast party committees do not always formulate strict requirements toward communist managers in terms of mastering Marxist-Leninist theory and the creative application of acquired knowledge in the course of practical activities. An investigation proved that some of them used their old knowledge. They were

out of step with life, something which could not fail to affect the results of their work.

Without making the party members who poorly fulfill one of the most important obligations of party membership any less responsible, we cannot fail to see a certain one-sidedness in the activities of some party committees as well. By concentrating their attention on production assignments, they insufficiently study the educational process, deal little with organizational-political work and fail to make principle-minded assessments of the fact that individual managers do not aspire to engage in daily contacts with the people and do not feel the inner need for self-training.

The people of Voroshilovgrad reacted properly, in a businesslike manner, to the criticism, and are currently eliminating the noted shortcomings. Necessary conclusions are being drawn by the party organizations in other oblasts as well.

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Practical experience proves that in any sector the work style and method is largely defined by the political standards of the cadres and their ability to ensure the practical and systematic political approach to the solution of all arising problems. The republic's party organizations consider it their most important duty to help leading cadres and party workers to master the methods for politically influencing social processes, the methods of persuasion, organization and upbringing of the masses.

Particular attention is paid to the training of national economic specialists recently promoted to leading positions in party committees. Short of sufficient political experience, some of the introduce in party work administrative-economic and, frequently, office-bureaucratic methods. This is manifested, in particular, in the inability clearly to demarcate between the functions of party committees in soviet and economic organs and the desire to do everything, to make all decisions, instead of guiding the work of collectives and organizations and concentrating on main and essential features.

Many workers are totally unable to surmount their internal inertia or to abandon obsolete habits. Naturally, it is not easy to abandon a practice used years on end. This requires a critical self-analysis, serious training and persistent work and, occasionally, even a certain amount of courage which, precisely, is in short supply in some comrades who had been accustomed to act according to the principle of "We have always done it this way."

The style of one of the party raykoms in Kharkov Oblast was criticized in the republic press. At the peak of the harvesting campaign, a flood of instructions poured out of the raykom to the farms "issuing deadlines for the various operations and asking for reports to the raykom bureau." It turned out that the raykom managers were sincerely convinced that their telegrams would almost be taken as "incentives" by the farm managers. Such so-called management "style" was condemned long ago. Yet, as we may see, recurrences of it are still apparent. This takes place wherever the work is based on form

rather than essence, where changed conditions and the totally different levels of cadre training and maturity are not taken into consideration.

Another feature of party work is that, most frequently, its results do not become immediately apparent. More than any other type of social activity, this is a long-range work. In this case, as the saying goes, one must plow deeply and substantively. Yet, everyone would like to see the results of one's efforts sooner, and that is why some party personnel take over from economic managers. No time is left to deal with cadre education!

In this connection, it would be pertinent to turn the discussion to the following: whom do they replace? As a rule, those who fail to cope with assignments. The work with cadres may have to be energized, their discipline and responsibility enhanced and lagging sectors urged on. Yet, it also happens that people who could cope with their obligations themselves but are not trusted are also replaced.

We also come across cases in which, under the pretext of not allowing the replacement of party workers, we have the other extreme: a general avoidance of consideration and solution of specific problems, forgetting the fact that the demarcation of functions does not mean in the least any weakening of party control over economic activities. Furthermore, it presumes a competent directing political influence over the respective bodies. One must not lose one's identity and become part of the economic management but firmly promote the party line and effectively exercise control and ensure the coordinated actions among party organizations and Soviet and economic organs. This is what is needed today in order to achieve the stable implementation of plans and attain tangible results in production intensification. We became convinced yet once again of the accuracy of this truth when we had to surmount the hardships caused by the difficult conditions which prevailed last winter.

Guided by the resolutions of the 26th Congress and the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee tries to see to it that the activities of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, as organs of political management, are concentrated on crucial problems related to the implementation of the party's political line, strengthening class tempering and the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the working people (the youth above all), strengthening discipline in the party's ranks, ensuring cadre selection and enhancing the exigency toward them. Such problems were extensively discussed at seminars for the newly elected party gorkom and raykom secretaries. They are the focal point of attention at party member meetings and party committee plenums.

Uniform political information days and reports submitted by economic managers to labor collectives and in residential areas have become an inseparable part of the republic's sociopolitical life. In Donetsk Oblast, for example, about 6,000 people have submitted reports over the past 18 months. Question-and-answer evenings are regularly held. Speeches to university students by leading party, soviet and Komsomol officials and skilled lecturers are organized. Public political clubs operate in a number of oblasts.

Meetings between managers and various working people categories are very useful. They are an efficient method for the implementation of the Leninist principle of publicity in the work of party, soviet, state and public organizations. On the one hand, the people are given first-hand extensive information on economic and political life. They openly express their wishes and critical remarks concerning the activities of leading bodies. On the other, communicating with the working people and addressing them enrich the leading cadres with knowledge and understanding of the needs and concerns of the citizens, contribute to the fuller utilization of local possibilities and have a tangible influence on upgrading public political standards. Finally, all of this contributes to a tremendous extent to the shaping of a politically mature and healthy public opinion and to strengthening in the consciousness and behavior of the people a feeling of involvement with the common cause of strengthening the economic and defense power of our socialist homeland. "The better the people are informed," the 11 March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted, "the more consciously they act and the more actively they support the party and its plans and program targets."

In developing in cadres the ability to think in terms of broad socioeconomic and political categories, the republic's party organizations show particular concern in helping all managers, specialists and rank-and-file working people understand well that the strategic tasks of national economic intensification are resolved at each workplace and within each collective, and that they may be able to see in any situation the inseparable tie between their daily work and the life and accomplishments of the entire country, to be always on the level of the major tasks dictated by our time and to be deeply aware of their responsibility for multiplying the contribution of the individual labor collectives, cities, rayons, oblasts, sectors and the republic as a whole in the development and strengthening the single union national economic complex.

Great importance is ascribed to ensuring the systematic study of the state of affairs in the economy of each separate region, the critical comparison between efforts and practical results and the search for optimal problem solutions. Experience confirms that the political study of the situation and of specific facts and phenomena and objective processes, and ability organically to combine sober economic computations with extensive political vision and to substantiate plans and economic practices not simply from the economic but, above all, the political economic viewpoint are exceptionally important in managing activities. This is a powerful lever, a tried instrument for political management.

In intensifying its analytical approach, the republic's communist party Central Committee has adopted the rule of periodically considering problems of selecting candidates for party membership and new reinforcements, changes in party ranks and deployment of party members and the dynamics of the structure of leading cadres, as well as new phenomena in the organization of political training and economic education. Every year, headed by their secretary and with the participation of specialists, the Central Committee departments make a thorough study of the activities of oblast party organizations. This year, such a study was based on the results of the first 4 years of the five-year plan. Such results are discussed by the oblast party committees and taken into consideration in their practical work. In the opinion of the aktiv, this



contributes to developing in the local workers a broader view on the situation and a self-critical approach in assessing accomplishments.

It is precisely profound political analysis, as a determining feature of political culture, that will enable us to see the big event in a small happenings, and the deep processes, leading trends and prospects in the ordinary facts and phenomena of our reality. The CPSU Central Committee sets an outstanding example of how to support everything new and progressive. We know the tremendous significance which the steps taken in recent years aimed at accelerating scientific and technical progress, upgrading public production efficiency and comprehensively applying progressive labor organization and incentive forms, are to economic intensification.

The search for ways for active dissemination of valuable innovations is becoming a characteristic feature in the workstyle of most party committees. It is precisely thanks to this that the republic is extensively using the comprehensive quality control system and making efficient use of resources, an assembly line-shop system of meat and milk production, the movement of industrial workers for the mechanization of manual labor, and others, as approved by the CPSU Central Committee. The experience of the collective of the Combines Plant imeni K. Ye. Voroshilov in Dnepropetrovsk in the certification of jobs and their rationalization is being actively disseminated. As was pointed out at the recently held Dnepropetrovsk Party Obkom Plenum, the high assessment of the experience of combine manufacturers, given by the CPSU Central Committee, may apply, to a certain extent, to the activities of the entire oblast party organization, for without its support this useful initiative could not have been developed.

However, by no means have all managers become aware of their responsibility for practical support of useful initiatives. For example, the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee had seriously to correct the work of individual economic and party officials in Simferopol, who had failed to show concern for the extensive application of brigade labor organization methods and who underestimated their major economic and social significance.

In criticizing individual cases of erroneous attitudes of personnel toward progressive experience and the achievements of science and technology and manifestations of the notorious "objectivism," the party organizations proceed from the fact that in addition to professional and official responsibility, a political approach to the work includes a special party responsibility on the part of the communists. This possibility is not merely a pious wish but a statutory party membership obligation. In this connection, we believe that the topic of the party-mindedness of the economic manager and the scientist must be always present in our press and, above all, be emphasized more strongly than it is now in our daily work.

In discussing the interconnection between cadre political standards and management style, it is important to bear in mind that, by its very nature, leading party and state work is, unquestionably, creative. As we know, life does not stand still or provide ready-made decisions. Such decisions must be made every time anew, based on the situation and guided by the party's general line and stipulations. The most valuable quality of a political worker is his

ability to grasp the essence of the matter, to display political sobriety and daring, to translate general problems into the language of specific actions and, if necessary, to take a sensible risk and be prepared to assume responsibility, if the only accurate and comprehensively weighed solution is to be found.

The implementation of the principled party line at all cost is an outstanding bolshevik quality. Today, in this exceptionally important period in history, when the party and the people face extremely complex and broad tasks related to completing the conversion of the economy to intensive development, upgrading cadre efficiency, responsibility and practicality and their understanding of the political meaning of economic management and the enthusiasm of the masses must be manifested particularly strongly. One of the most important tasks, the All-Union Practical Scientific Conference on Problems of Ideological Work (December 1984) emphasized is to ascribe today to the process of economic intensification a truly nationwide character and the same type of political importance which the country's industrialization had in the past.

Certain changes have taken place in the work of many economic sectors in the past 2 years. Such changes have been also characteristic of our republic's economy, whose pace of development was accelerated in 1983-1984. However, as was pointed out at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, difficulties in economic development have by no means been surmounted. Substantial additional effort must be made to lay a reliable foundation for fast progress. In this case, along with the clear stipulations on key problems of social development, purposeful work to strengthen discipline, organization and order and improved economic planning and management, the direct appeal of the CPSU, in the spirit of Lenin's traditions, to the collective mind of the Soviet people and their enthusiasm, the ability to listen to the voice of the masses, to consult with the working people and steadily to check its course with the thoughts of the working class are of the greatest importance. Clear examples of this were provided by the 8 April meeting between the CPSU Central Committee secretaries and heads of industrial associations, enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, production brigades, specialists and scientists, and the talks between M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the working people of Moscow's Proletarskiy Rayon.

The role of the rayon, city and oblast party committees as the active promoters of party policy is growing with every passing year. Problems of their activities are regularly considered at meetings of the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat and at conferences and seminars with party committee personnel. The republic's communist party Central Committee plenum which discussed the reports submitted by the Donetsk gorkom and Nikopolskiy party raykom, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, on the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and 26th CP of the Ukraine Congress, had a certain positive influence on party life in the republic. Among others, characteristics of their work style were noted, such as taking a long-term view, and a creative and initiative-minded approach to the solution of economic and social problems, relying on the primary party organizations, high exigency and healthy dissatisfaction with accomplishments.

Constant attention is being paid to ensure precisely this type of approach in the activities of all republic party committees. The CP of the Ukraine Central Committee has formulated extensive steps aimed at asserting in the work of the party's rayon and city committees high principle-mindedness, practicality and collectivism. This is helped by proven methods, such as submitting reports to superior party bodies, and frank, self-critical and comradely discussion of problems of improving management style and methods at periodically held special bureau sessions.

4

The personal qualities and moral aspect of the political leader and the degree of his maturity and standards are manifested mostly clearly in specific situations, when problems related to the legitimate rights and daily needs and requirements of the citizens are resolved or, in other words, when the principle of social justice is being implemented, which is the most important factor in the unity and stability of the socialist society. Occasionally, views pertaining not only to the activities of one power body or another, but of party and state policy as well, are shaped according to the actions and steps taken by individual officials. It would be difficult to assess the harm caused by the actions of bureaucrats, who voice with assurance hifalutin and beautiful statements on responsiveness and attention to people while, in fact, behave arrogantly and boastfully. The working people neither wish nor do tolerate phenomena alien to our way of life, such as rudeness, conceit, bureaucratism, red tape, immodest behavior and the aspiration to enrich oneself.

Legitimately, the republic's party organizations ascribe prime importance to the fact that the activities and behavior of leading cadres must be distinguished by honesty, exigency, above all toward themselves, and an attentive and concerned attitude toward others, the observance of the principles of communist morality and norms of party and bolshevik ethics, and unity between words and actions. The higher the position entrusted to a party member is, the more exigent he must be toward himself. In the selection and promotion of personnel and the study of their political, practical and ideological and moral qualities, particular attention is being paid to determining the way the promoted workers act outside work, whether or not they and the members of their families are distinguished by their modesty and nonacquisitiveness and are such comrades able to assume a principle-minded and intolerant position toward those who violate our laws and communist morality norms.

We can say with full justification that the behavior of the absolute majority of local managers is entirely consistent with such requirements. They are worthy of the trust placed in them. However, life also indicates that whatever his position and whatever qualities he may have, an official cannot be left to his own devices and remain uncontrolled or outside the pale of criticism. For even the best worker is not insured against errors and shortcomings. That is why it is so important, as the CPSU Central Committee directs us, for every manager always to feel that he is accountable and responsible not only to those who manage him but also to those whom he manages, to his comrades in the party organization, and that his activities

are always controlled on a daily basis and assessed comprehensively and objectively.

The attention of all party committees in the republic is concentrated on such problems. Reports on improper behavior by personnel are investigated thoroughly and strict measures are taken toward those guilty of unwelcome actions or who display unconscientiousness and dishonesty, who take the path of swindling the state, misuse their official position and tolerate or connive in violations of law and order and the rules of community life. In such matters the party organizations are steadily guided by the CPSU Central Committee instructions to the effect that such people should not have a place in the party, not to mention hold leading positions. Decisions passed concerning violators are publicized widely. For example, the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee ratified the decision of the Odessa City Party Committee Bureau on expelling from the CPSU the former first secretary of Krasnokhnyanskiy Party Raykom and the chairman of the rayon executive committee, who used their official position for personal gain in the matter of building housing. The deputy chairman of the Lysychynsk and Khmelnytskyi rayon executive committee deputy chairman, who had taken the path of fraud, figure padding and whitewashing, were not recommended for reelection at the recent elections.

Cases in which individual managers tolerate transgressions, and even worse if they themselves show a tendency to become intoxicated, trigger the profound indignation of the people. In such cases, the party organizations must be intolerant. Last April, the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee secretary issued a strict and principle-minded assessment of gross violations of contractual, financial and accountability disciplines, figure padding and abuses allowed by A. Krivolapov, chief of the Main Crimean Procurement Administration. In cultivating "useful" people, he organized in their honor naturally not at his own expense, dinners and banquets in which alcoholic beverages flowed. The end was natural: Krivolapov was removed from his position and the primary party organization was instructed to decide on the matter of his party membership. Also strictly punished were personnel of the party obkom and of other organizations who had not called this manager to order.

When we think of why cases of improper and unwelcome behavior on the part of individual workers who hold leading positions became possible, we inevitably reach the conclusion that they stem from insufficient maturity and weak party upbringing. An "official" may suddenly decide that he can do anything he wants and that the laws were written for someone else. Whenever party control is weakened and party principles violated, favorable grounds for abuse are created. For example, benefiting from lack of control on the part of the city party committee and the oblast organizations, some economic managers in Novovolynsk, Volynsk Oblast, took the path of grafting and even crime. They have now been removed from their positions and expelled from the party, and those who broke the law were prosecuted. V. Ishchuk, party obkom second secretary, and B. Svetsitskiy, former oblast executive committee chairman, who displayed lack of principle in this matter, were punished.



Naturally, a moral and political fiasco expects anyone who allows abuses. In this connection, attention should be paid to the following situation: mercenary objectives cannot be attained alone, without support of "like-minded people." That is why, morally unstable managers usually try to surround themselves with "their own" people--toadies, yes-men and people on the make or, in a word, unclean and immoral individuals. They are offered all sorts of protection, promoted, protected from criticism and public control. Favoritism is, unquestionably, a phenomenon alien to our system and incompatible with the status of political worker or, in general, of any type of manager. The party organizations are decisively struggling against this phenomenon. Thus, N. Zlenko, former secretary of Glopristanskiy party raykom, Kherson Oblast, was removed from his position and prosecuted for violation of party principles in the implementation of cadre policy and for protecting a plunderer.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of criticism and self-criticism and an atmosphere of bolshevik frankness in cadre upbringing. The ability objectively to assess one's work and behavior is a mandatory quality of any manager and proof of his political maturity. Unfortunately, we note that individual workers suffer from excessive conceit, tendency to exaggerate their accomplishments and self-advertising. Not all of them are still courageous enough to admit errors or able to draw proper conclusions from comradely criticism. Occasionally, hurt self-esteem proves stronger than the understanding of party and official duty. The CP of the Ukraine Central Committee has had to correct some managers, who encouraged praises but painfully reacted to criticism, including criticism in the press.

We believe that the question of the standards of criticism deserves attention. What does this mean? Above all, the substantiation, the accuracy of critical remarks and their constructive nature and, to a great extent, the tactfulness with which such remarks are made. True party criticism has nothing in common with harsh bellowing or shameless blowing up which insult the dignity of the person.

An attitude of high principle-mindedness and exigency toward cadres was displayed at the March CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Plenum. A number of republic officials, who had allowed breakdowns in the work were subjected to fair, strict yet just criticism. D. Galkin, UkSSE minister of ferrous metallurgy, first obkom secretaries B. Goncharenko, A. Girenko, M. Vsevolozhskiy, A. Korniyenko, L. Krivoruchko, L. Palazhchenko and others were asked by the Central Committee to explain what they were doing to ensure the fastest possible elimination of the lagging in important economic sectors. The Crimean party obkom and its first secretary V. Makarenko were sharply criticized for serious shortcomings in work with cadres.

The plenum also pointed out that the UkSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairmen and the Central Committee secretaries and department heads should study more profoundly the situation and continue to upgrade their exigency toward cadres and adamantly promote efficient work in each sector.

A bolshevik workstyle and the Leninist principles of cadre policy are a tremendous constructive power. By mastering them, the CPSU actively influences all processes occurring in society and directs the creative energy

of the Soviet people toward perfecting developed socialism. The higher the level of ideological maturity, competence and political and moral standards of the cadres are, and the closer their relations become with the people, the more successfully can our tasks be implemented.

Like all party members throughout the country, the party members in the Soviet Ukraine see it as their duty, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and observing the laws of party ethics, to make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the party's plans. They warmly approved the decisions of the extraordinary March and April (1985) CPSU Central Committee plenums, which were a new convincing demonstration of our party's inflexible loyalty to the cause of the great Lenin and consistency and continuity of its strategic course formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, and firm resolve to follow even more persistently the line of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country and perfecting all aspects of social life.

In developing their preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, the republic's party organizations are comprehensively analyzing the experience acquired in organizational and ideological-political activities among the masses and formulating the specific ways of increasing the party's influence in all sectors of economic and sociocultural construction. They consider as their most important task providing practical support to valuable initiatives aimed at increasing and making better use of internal reserves. Particular attention is paid to having each labor collective go to the congress with good results and for every party member to make a personal contribution to welcoming the congress properly. Such is the response of the republic's party organizations to the appeal of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum on heading a nationwide movement for the successful solution of the key problems of economic and social development and achieving the immediate and long-range objectives earmarked by the party.

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## ARSENALS OF CONSTRUCTIVE LABOR AND LABOR INCENTIVES

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[Article by A. Nikitin]

[Text] The intensification of the Soviet economy is the main trend in the further development of productive forces and in perfecting the social relations system. In following this path, as was pointed out at the March and April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenums, and in selecting optimal solutions, it is important to make creative use of the fundamental principles of socialist economic management and to ensure the extensive utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and to see to it that everyone in his job work conscientiously and with total dedication.

Particular attention must be paid to the efficient utilization of labor and to upgrading its productivity. We must make a profound study of the placement of the workers, the efficiency of their work methods and the use of every hour of working time.

Rich experience in this approach has been acquired by the collectives of the Sumy Machine-Building Association imeni M. V. Frunze and other enterprises throughout the country. The editors have already acquainted the journal's readership with interesting initiatives developed in this association (see KOMMUNIST, No 14, 1981. Article by A. Muzyr, "Brigades: Experience, Tasks, Prospects"). As early as 1974, the people of Frunze began to apply the comprehensive system for increasing production efficiency. The intraplant planning and accountability procedure, responsibility for intrashop procurements and quality control were changed. This experience was approved by the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee and the USSR State Committee for Labor.

Other innovations included a changed procedure in summing up the results of the socialist competition. Whereas previously they were based on the principle of "who has done more," today the results of shop work are less subject to assessments than to the study of the nature of equipment work shift, availability of machine tool operators, utilization of the working time, reduced labor intensiveness, and so on. Under these circumstances, the socialist competition becomes organically combined with the economic education of the workers and the shaping of a conscious labor discipline.

# I

If you want to see for yourself the extent to which a plant works smoothly and intensively, you should visit its shops during the evening shift. At that time the work base at the Sumy Machine-Building Association is as high as during the daytime shift. The association's plants operate like finely tuned watches. In the opinion of the metallurgical workers, the work here is easy and interesting. There is a great deal of work to be done and nothing to hinder it....

The question is, what hindered the metallurgical workers in the past? There were shortcomings in the organization of production and the socialist competition and labor discipline violations. The criteria in assessing management work were imperfect and the approach to their wages had become simplistic. Even the amount of wage supplement to a foreman's basic rating did not depend on the use of production capacities or on whether or not his shift had met its assignment.

Here is what V. Lukyanenko, general director of the Sumy Machine-Building Association and delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress, said on the nature of incentive:

"Planning based on previous accomplishments psychologically encouraged the people to conceal reserves and claim lower capabilities in order to be able to overfulfill their plan more easily later, gain a leading position in the competition and earn a bonus. We took a different road. The standard production capacity of a sector or shop became the basis in determining the stress of an assignment and the level at which such capacity was used became the main evaluation criterion. We made a precise estimate of working time reserves available for each machine tool or type of equipment per month, quarter or year.... It turned out that we could do perfectly well without the new space which the construction workers had failed to complete in previous years and even to increase our production program...."

Yet the program was extensive and quite important. The construction of the Main Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod Gas Pipeline was beginning. The Sumy workers had to produce and deliver to those who were laying underground main pipelines complex gas pumping stations of tremendous capacity, strictly according to schedule. Never before had this been done in our country. Therefore, calculations had to be extremely accurate. It would have been wrong to rely on enthusiasm alone, for the assignments had to be carried out at all cost. In a word, everything had to be considered and planned precisely.

Computations are fine, but how to interest the people? Above all, the people of Sumy decided that an incentive should be given not for "varying" above-plan fulfillment percentages but for a high and stable level of utilization of production capacities: on the basis of the load carried by the machine tools. The closer the actual indicator would come to the standard set by the plan specialists, the higher the bonus would be. One of the metallurgical workers described this indicator as the "level of maturity." Naturally, maturity levels may be professional, civic and, above all, economic. In order for it



to reach the desired level, the association's party and trade union organizations had to do a great deal of work.

In the opinion of N. Oboznyy, party committee secretary at the Sumy Association, the most difficult part was to abandon the old customs and develop a new way of economic thinking.

An initiative group of party members was set up by the party committee, which included front-ranking workers and foremen, the association's general director, technologists and economists. Talks on how better to organize the production process, how to make evaluation criteria more effective and standards clearer and closely related to the primary tasks of the collective were held at the shop's red corners or directly at the machine tools.

A heavy load was assumed by the economic service, headed by Dr of Economic Sciences V. Moskalenko, deputy general director of the association. Above all, the problem required extensive theoretical work, for the perfecting of management methods had been started here even before the familiar 1979 decree on perfecting the economic mechanism. The initially suggested points rating system was rejected out of hand, as being too conventional. It was the workers above all who spoke out against it. Specific indicators were sought.

"It was precisely this concreteness in the assessment of the work that concerned us," said G. Maslyuchenko, the chief of the second shop. "The managers had become accustomed to the fact that plans, from the brigade to the ministry level, would be corrected. Yet the capacity of machine tools, like the concrete foundations on which they stand, remained firm, for no one had learned how to "correct" them.

However, the standardization of production capacities offered another clear advantage: an efficient benchmark and, therefore, assessment of what had been accomplished. The monthly reports currently drafted by the economists are not known here as analytical without a reason. They indicate in detail the maximal possibilities of a collective, the way they were realized and the size of the bonus earned.

The prestige of engineering labor has increased here as well. Engineer salaries, based on the end results of the work of the collective, have become more flexible. In the course of a shop discussion, an engineer remarked, among other things, that now here foremen receive more than shop managers in other plants. N. Oboznyy, association party committee secretary, immediately interjected:

"They do not receive, they earn...."

This is an essential elaboration. Let us recall how many attempts had been made to enhance the prestige and earnings of foremen. But how to do it? Various types of general supplements were considered, frequently unrelated to the results of their organizing efforts. Let us consider the question of grades alone. At the Sumy Association, grades have now become a true incentive for innovation. The right to a wage supplement here is granted only to a foreman in whose sector the use of capacities, compared with the

standard, is quite high. Otherwise what kind of grade foreman would one be if half of the machine tools are gathering rust?

In the past, chiefs of sectors and shops or foremen showed no concern about a virtually unused machine tool: "Eventually, it may come in useful!" Such type of "economic insurance" resulted in unnecessary outlays. Should a shop urgently require a planer and could not borrow it from the neighboring plant and a request had to be filed with the ministry. Now one would find immediately at the plant dozens of such machine tools. Here as well the standard for the utilization of production capacities has been useful. Insurance has been replaced by thrift. The people have become more economical...as well as more knowledgeable in their practical work. Let us underscore this: knowledgeable in practical work.

Currently, economic training in seminars and communist labor courses has become truly popular. What happened? For in the past as well the party and trade union committees paid a great deal of attention to such training. However, the time and energy spent by the activists were by no means justified despite the most advanced standardized programs and visual aids. What occurred was something truly very important and, furthermore, fundamental. Knowledge of the foundations of economics and the ability to see, estimate and utilize capacity reserves have become not a training assignment for the association's collective or a currently fashionable "business game" but an intrinsic part of the economic life of the enterprise and the individual working person.

Currently, two basic criteria are used as accomplishment yardsticks: the implementation of planned assignments entitles the people to a bonus and the size of the bonus is based on the level of accomplishments compared with the standard. The bonus funds are the same but the results are different. The incentive is based on the distribution of the funds such as to benefit subunits which, having fulfilled their plan, have also made better use of the production potential, reduced working time losses and strengthened discipline.

Actually, in this specific case the words "strengthening discipline" do not entirely give the sense of the changes which have affected this important social problem as well. It would be more accurate to say that a new lever in controlling the process of shaping a conscious labor discipline has been found. It makes the bonus more clearly dependent on the level of utilization of capacities and the quantity and quality of the work. The efficiency of objectives and criteria has become the main feature in shaping discipline which, in turn, contributes to the fuller use of capacities. It is thus that the direct and inverse connection of discipline practice has been specifically manifested by the people of Sumy.

What does this contribute to our association? During the 10th Five-Year Plan, labor productivity increased by 42 percent and production output by more than 50 percent. Working time losses dropped by 44 percent. In the past, no other means could achieve such results. The use of estimated production capacity has reached 98 percent and output per square meter of area has increased by nearly 20 percent; the shift coefficient of metal-cutting equipment has reached an average of 1.7. The structure of the machine tool fleet has been

improved substantially and its technical standard has increased. All important assignments of the builders of main gas pipelines were met ahead of schedule.

What is the importance of the Sumy experience in terms of the scale of our entire industry?

During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone, more than 1,200 new industrial enterprises were commissioned and an even greater number were reconstructed. The country has a great deal of capacities today. The value of basic production assets exceeds 1 trillion rubles. This includes huge blast furnaces, rolling mills, power plants, converters, machine tool...all that which constitutes the most important part of the national wealth of the people and which is a powerful constructive arsenal.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan basic production assets increased by 40 percent. Naturally, this is substantial. What about returns? Compared with the previous 5-year period, industrial and agricultural output increased significantly. The national income increased by 400 billion rubles. Four-fifths of that amount went for population consumption and housing and sociocultural construction. The results could have been much greater. In recent years, return from basic productive assets have declined and the number of job vacancies is increasing.

To a certain extent, such phenomena may be explained by the shortage of cadres and the worsened demographic situation. But are these the only reasons? Although the manpower growth rates have slowed down, the qualitative characteristics and economic and social activeness of the working people have increased substantially. The percentage of workers with secondary or secondary technical specialized training is increasing and engineering and scientific support for the production process are increasing with every passing year. This means that favorable social conditions are being created specifically leading to the intensification and accelerated development of the economy.

## II

The solution of the problem is the further advancement of the economic mechanism and the intensification of the large-scale experiment. Briefly, currently the interconnection between basic production capital and labor incentives applies to enterprise collectives as a whole. This refers to payments for basic capital assets. However, does this influence earnings and the bonuses of a turner or machine operator, for example? It does not. In the majority of enterprises, the economic criteria governing the use of basic capital are quite unrelated to the use of powerful equipment.

Plants frequently ask the following question: "How to interest a turner in increasing the output of the lathe if the plant withholds for equipment amortization a strictly defined percentage of funds? This takes place regardless of whether a machine tool will be used throughout the month or for a few days only...." It is a question of entirely specific incentive. For example, with his skillful work a turner may increase the production of high-



quality items as well as double the working life of his machine tool before a capital repair becomes necessary. Will the turner receive a bonus for the thus "economized" lathe? In the majority of cases, according to current instructions, no such reward is due. It is as though the worker, who is at the base of all production, is ignored with this method. How to avoid this?

As we pointed out, the people of Sumy were able to interest the machine-tool workers and the administrative personnel in ensuring the maximal loading of the equipment. The coefficient of capacity utilization of each machine tool, sector and shop was considered not only in summing up the results of the work but in terms of socialist competition achievements and bonuses. Previously, the question of one shop helping another was resolved with difficulty by the director. Now the foremen themselves seek additional work. Economic interest has become stronger and is influencing the mentality governing relations among people more specifically.

I was able to witness the following case. The shop gates opened unexpectedly and a truck with semifinished parts made at the neighboring shop rolled in. In the neighboring shop the turners had more than they could handle whereas here, conversely, the people were idling. The parts were quickly machined and returned. The shop chiefs were even unaware of the event. All problems had been resolved on the foremen's level. One was interested in delivering the batch on time and the other was pleased by the opportunity to raise the load coefficient of his sector. Without expanding the production areas output has increased, thus lowering outlays for construction and installation projects and other costs which had been preplanned for the sector.

In other words, already now the association's management applies not the standard "increase" approach but the "leveling" one. This means that the assessment of results is based not on the relative but on the absolute, the actual work contribution of the collective. It is greatly thanks to this fact that the collective of the Sumy machine builders has been able to attain high quality indicators in the use of its production potential and become a highly profitable and stably working enterprise.

That is why in the 10th Five-Year Plan the Sumy machine builders were able to save 11.5 million rubles in capital investments. Although they did save this amount, the collective itself was not affected by the results: bonuses were awarded within the limits of the usual material incentive fund. Yet, production intensification demands in a number of cases greater labor intensiveness, for it is more difficult to service equipment "in motion." Greater skill and internal discipline are required.

The legitimate question raised by the Sumy people is the following: if a labor collective as a whole makes more efficient use of the production potential and thus saves on capital investments in its expansion, the additional load should be compensated for. A sensible amount of withholdings of part of the saved funds should go to bonuses to the collective and the development of the association's social infrastructure.

But what does "within sensible limits" imply? What precisely? Are there more precise criteria? At the Sumy Association, along with a system of economic



standards, a system for social norms was recently developed. Many types of social needs were determined here not by guess but on a strictly scientific basis, and their dependence on the level of knowledge and nature of the work and prospects for the development of the collective were defined.

We believe that this formulation of the question is entirely legitimate. The need for its solution is well understood by theoreticians and practical workers. However, capital investments are still frequently planned without a precise assessment of the level of utilization of already installed basic capital and the social structure of the labor collective. Why?

Today new capacities are essentially installed on the basis of centralized appropriations. That is why, in frequent cases the plant or the sector as a whole tries to obtain from the state as much capital investment as possible. The question of capital investments is raised regardless of the occasion. If the production of more advanced machines must be organized, let us build a new shop or even a new plant. If we must expand output and upgrade production quality, let us ask the state for more millions for plant building. No one takes costs into consideration. Why? To the ministries, associations and plants, allocated funds are considered gifts: "Insist more and demand more!" It is precisely here that we find the reasons for the fact that ever more jobs are being opened and that returns on production capital are declining.

Nor could we consider correct the practice of planning funds for reconstruction in which most of them go to the passive part of basic capital--buildings and equipment--and less to the active part, such as labor tools and technological equipment. In even relatively new machine-building plants obsolete equipment is used. Meanwhile, many highly productive automated lines are gathering dust in warehouses. Yet most such lines do not require new work areas. They could successfully replace the obsolete machine tools, make the work easier and improve its quality. Unfortunately, many construction workers more willingly undertake the building of new plants, for this helps them successfully to fulfill their volume plan indicators. The result is that the efficient use of productive capital depends on perfecting planning and material incentive in all sectors, including construction.

Clearly, the time has come to cure production workers, whatever their rank, of the feeling that funds are "cheap," and to reassess payments for them and, perhaps, make them even further differentiated. Any kind of equipment received by a plant should be considered not a "gift from heaven" but a serious and responsible acquisition, the fastest possible returns from which have been precisely computed. Here as well standards could be applied. For example, in addition to computing planned labor intensiveness a more extensive use could be made of the standard governing the utilization of production capacities based on the Sumy model. This would provide an incentive for a plant not to acquire its own "plasmotron" but to organize business contacts with related enterprises in the same city, oblast or republic. A great deal could be accomplished in this case by the local party committees and planning authorities and director councils. The ministries should abandon departmental traditions and assist such cooperation.

The question of developing and improving the constructive arsenals is truly, many-faceted. That is why, it is quite important for each enterprise and sector to develop comprehensive programs for perfecting the handling of productive capital in the 12th Five-Year Plan and to consider an innovative and flexible bonus system for its skillful and qualitative use. We must not forget that it is precisely the sensible combination of labor means and manpower that makes our forces productive and multiplies the wealth of one and all. This is well understood by the Sumy machine builders and Leningrad electronics goods manufacturers....

"Today we speak a great deal about the role of science and technology in the development of an intensive economy, improving the utilization of capacities and perfecting the style of management," noted O. Filatov, general director of the Leningrad Svetlana Association. "But what is being done to accomplish this? Even sectorial science seems to exist so far as though for its own sake. It has its own balance sheet and output. Frequently, however, these 'parallel roads' do not merge...."

Some managers console themselves with the idea that the production workers will themselves rise to the level of the scientists, become "imbued" with consciousness, and so on. The people of Leningrad decided to organize the interaction between scientists and production workers anew, to merge the "parallels." Scientific-production complexes were set up at Svetlana. These are qualitatively new structural subunits. Here researchers and workers work hand in hand. They are jointly answerable for the development of technology and the implementation of the production plan. The complexes cover the cycle from the development of a new idea to its implementation.

It is only in mathematics that transmutations do not change the final figure. They do in economics and management, and greatly at that! Those who develop new items have been given all the necessary levers for their implementation without delay, for organizing the series manufacturing of new items and for improving them steadily. The combination of the creative efforts of scientists and production workers at Svetlana has become an important factor in the skillful utilization of capacities and increased efficiency of managers.

Until recently, however, the association was unable to resolve problems of wages and bonuses to complex managers. Their salaries were consistent with their previous duties although they performed their new obligations on a voluntary basis. Alas, the efficiency of some personnel in sectorial headquarters and at the USSR State Committee for Labor could not match the efficiency of the Leningrad electronic workers. It took a decade to resolve problems of material incentives to people working according to the new system. Here uniform principles for the organization of the socialist competition and bonuses to production workers and scientists, based on end labor results, were adopted. The Svetlana experience will be useful to other plants where items must be quickly updated and where the scientific potential of the production process is high.

### III

Today we speak of enthusiasm and record-setting less frequently, sometimes in a whisper, describing such phenomena in more restrained and, perhaps, more accurate terms, such as initiative and enterprise. Yet, the maximal utilization of the economic potential directly depends on the labor upsurge of the people and their particular kind of innovative creativity. In other words, the levels of utilization and the production and labor potentials are closely interrelated and, therefore, their efficiency is greatly influenced by ideological and scientific support.

"As we recall today the labor records set in the past, we sometimes think that they reflected not merely the dedication and enthusiasm of the innovators but also the greater difficulties related to achieving them," says Hero of Socialist Labor I. Gudov, a veteran of the Stakhanovite movement. "The country was being built and we kept learning along with the rest of the country. However, it was precisely for that reason that such an extensive pace became possible and that again and again millions of people standing by the blast furnaces, working in the mines or operating machine tools, proved that we can work better."

The glory of the innovators has not paled to this day. Today, we have millions of people operating multiple machine tools. Yet, the service areas are expanding more slowly than they should. As in the past, weavers and spinners are deservedly the champions. But what is the situation in other sectors, particularly those where men are the prime workers?

The contemporary organization of labor has left the time of the Stakhanovites far behind. The equipment has changed as well. It is as though machine tools with digital programming, let us say, have been especially designed for record-setting. However, records are few. The ranks of multiple machine tool operators are not growing as rapidly as we would like. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, the labor army in our industry increased by almost 3 million people. Frankly speaking, however, the family of multiple machine-tool operators showed an insignificant increase.

Yet multiple machine-tool operators are greatly needed today, for a number of machine tools have no handlers. That is why one may think that if one would like to have a true "labor career" one should become a multiple machine tool operator! Naturally, this applies to wherever this is possible and necessary. At that point, both every worker individually and the entire collective, having assumed entirely realistic additional labor assignments, would resolve the problem on a truly colossal scale.

Generally speaking, multiple machine-tool operators do arise. But how? Partly on an organized basis and partly...spontaneously. Workers set in nearby unused machine tools parts which they machine carefully, without haste. The foreman passes by and congratulates a cog maker or milling worker for having broadened the area of his work.... Then, the worker would turn off the machine tool and remove the part. Sometimes, he does not wish to be officially considered a multiple machine-tool operator but remain covert one! What, one may ask, is the benefit of such concealment?



"It is quite noticeable," answers A. Durnin, head of a multiple machine-tool operators' brigade at the Zhdanovtyazhmash Production Association. "Officially, the pay for using a second and third machine tool is relatively lower than for the same work done on a single one, although this accomplishment is more difficult and demands greater stress and skill...."

It is at this point that we touch upon the main feature--the moral and material assessment of the labor contribution of the multiple machine-tool operator. At many plants, even within the same sector, different and, occasionally, quite obsolete wage rules are applied. They were formulated a long time ago, when the country was not short of manpower, underskilled in particular, and when not only a second machine tool but even a full dozen of them would be specially purchased for each enthusiast. Remember that in the film "The Bright Way" even walls had to be pulled down so that the characters in the film would have a greater work area.

Today walls are rarely torn down for such purposes. However, verbal clashes occur frequently. In a discussion on multiple machine-tool operators held at a meeting of the collegium of the Ministry of Heavy Machine Building, that same A. Durnin said:

"Today the multiple machine-tool operator is considered more like a vestige. His work is hindered not only by the wages but also by the principle governing the positioning of the machine tools and their design. All machine tools are set in rows, one next to the other, and many of them have no automatic stopping devices, without which one could not leave them unsupervised even for a minute...."

Automated manipulators and industrial robots will not replace turners, millers or cog cutters soon.... Nor would all such facilities taken separately be put to work. Therefore, we must organize the work in such a way and apply the type of technology and layout for the machine tools in which each working minute would be used with maximal returns. Multiple machine-tool servicing should be included already in the plans for the new and reconstructed plants and such planning should be encouraged.

What was made clear at the meeting of the ministry's collegium, was also the fact that the sectorial headquarters were planning formally an increase in multiple machine-tool operators at many enterprises and associations. Officially, such plans are being "fulfilled." Uninstalled equipment worth many millions of rubles remains in sectorial warehouses while, at the same time, the updating of old equipment at plants occasionally amounts to 2 or 3 percent per year. The process of capital renovation must be accelerated. In such cases, the metallurgical worker will find it more profitable to operate not two old machine tools but six new automated ones.

To put it bluntly, this is a topical problem, particularly as far as the Ministry of Machine Tool Industry and the USSR State Committee for Prices personnel are concerned. Why not pay a wage supplement for the convenience of group servicing of machine tools? We believe that converting the leading sectors to self-financing and the more extensive use of credit in this case as



well would improve the situation. This would help the collectives to compare more accurately production outlays with end results. The large-scale economic experiment will contribute to the solution of this problem. The collectives of associations and enterprises have been given the opportunity to "earn" funds for the development of production and equipment updating. This presumes a more efficient approach to the use of basic production capital and the intensification of cost-accounting relations on the enterprise and association and, subsequently, sectorial scale.

In such a case the combination of skills could be developed considerably faster. What does this mean? First of all, it affects professional mobility. For example, comprehensive brigades and the single order system demand of the worker widespread knowledge and the ability easily to combine skills. Yet, contemporary professional training, although intensive, is nevertheless strictly specialized. It is difficult to make the "one-sided" worker part of the new progressive labor organization and wages. That is why, we must begin by training the people in an entire range of related skills.

Need we mention that such skill combinations are a tremendous reserve for the full use of each working minute and work place? This does not apply to industrial workers alone, where about 6 percent of the personnel practice several skills, but also to employees and engineers, who are still unaware of any record they may be able to set. Many of them would like not only to combine skills but to combine physical with mental work. How to do it?

Let us look at the explanation provided by the USSR State Committee for Labor: "In exceptional cases, the combination of jobs of engineering and technical personnel and employees with worker jobs...is allowed by permission of the Council of Ministers of Union Republics and USSR ministries and departments, or else cleared with the corresponding trade union authorities." What engineer would like to go through such proceedings? And why "exceptional cases" only? Why is it that a person who would like to work hard is hindered along every step of the way?

Is it always sensible for the choice of a profession or, if necessary, a change of profession or combining it with another profession to be restricted? Excessive regulations in labor matters, which have nothing in common with the development of conscious discipline, could hinder the growth of the person's productivity. Could it be that, in some cases, such regulations have led to an acute "scarcity" of manpower?

In this area as well, however, the situation is being somewhat improved. Recently, an experiment in extending the contracting organization of labor not only on the brigade scale but on the scale of sectors, technological flows and shops, was undertaken in Novosibirsk. This means that henceforth, alongside with their collectives, engineering and technical personnel and white-collar workers will work to meet the contract. This will resolve more simply the problems of changing jobs and combining mental with physical work. The contribution of those practicing one or the other will henceforth be assessed more flexibly and accurately, thanks to the use of the labor participation coefficient by virtually all workers in subdivisions, on the basis of the results of their activities.

This is what M. Guskova, shop technologist at the Elektrosignal Plant in Novosibirsk thinks on this subject:

"Previously we worked somehow separately from the labor collective. We had our own plans for 'organizational and technical measures,' while they had their production assignments. Naturally, these plans frequently coincided but no reciprocal real assessment in terms of rubles existed. Hence confusion and the nonmandatory aspect of technological work. Now we are accountable to both the plant engineering services and the labor collectives. The labor participation coefficient directly links our efforts to the end labor results of the entire collective."

Expanding the combination of skills and increasing the ranks of multiple machine-tool operators are problems of governmental importance, which must be resolved without delay. They must be resolved on a comprehensive basis and with a view to the immediate future. It is better to begin with a substantiated formulation of servicing norms and labor organization and payment principles and the creation of the necessary technical and social conditions. The multiple machine-tool operators will be pleased with additional leave and priorities in obtaining housing and purchasing goods in demand. Encouraging the people would help as well. It is no easy thing to become a multiple machine-tool operator, for this requires a real interest in the job. In a labor country, such a labor career should truly become most fashionable.

#### IV

As we can see, rich and comprehensive experience has been gained in the efficient utilization of capacities and manpower, despite a number of unresolved problems. The main thing now is to make leading experience accessible to a broad variety of practical workers. Here as well, the very experience in the dissemination of...progressive experience would be quite useful. The successes and difficulties of such work can be clearly seen by taking the Sumy machine builders as an example.

The Sumy experience has been considered repeatedly on a variety of levels, from oblast to all-union. Within that time, the association organized a large method center in which more than 40 progressive experience courses and republic and all-union seminars have been held. Hundreds of plant delegations have come here from all parts of the country....

However, even to this day we cannot say that the experience of the Ukrainian innovators in organizing the competition and the economic upbringing of the working people has become as widespread as it deserves to be. What is the problem? Strange though it might seem, it rests above all in the abundance of multiple-step and uncoordinated and, frequently, parallel approvals of innovations, for any local experience in resolving topical production problems also creates new problems which exceed the range of the association. Therefore, they must be resolved comprehensively, on a higher level. However, some of the approving authorities are not in a hurry, while others approach it one-sidedly.

Let us recall here that we described merely the standardization of production capacities and its utilization in organizing the socialist competition and evaluation of the work. This standard, however, is not the only one used by the enterprise. In perfecting the economic management mechanism, other standards or standardizing assignments and association standards were developed in all areas. All of them lead to upgrading production quality, conserving material and manpower resources, enhancing the technical and organizational production standards and the social development of the collective.

The method instructions issued by the USSR Gosplan and other departments, whose purpose, precisely, is to define the criteria for stressed plans, have taken the Sumy experience into consideration only partially. Its second inseparable half--encouraging similar plans--has been neglected. Such "support" of a progressive experience, tested after long years of practical experience, emasculates the very idea and seriously damages its effectiveness. Yet, that which has been accomplished on the scale of the association should be accomplished on a national scale as well.

To approve an experience does not mean simply to vote for it. Above all, one must resolve all the problems it raises and remove the obstacles on the way to its progress. How else could it be? Senior personnel of the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building and S. Kropov, chief of the machine-building and metal-processing department, USSR State Committee for Labor, who visited the association, subsequently became promoters of this innovation and frequently addressed seminars and collegiums. Again and again, the experience was weighed and new targets for its application were earmarked. Yet, whereas the experiment is now known to "our" sector, the same cannot be said of others.

The point is that an economically important new development was applied essentially on a voluntary basis, involving great difficulties and costs. The road is excessively hard even in the case of a repeatedly approved and tested experience, supported by specific state acts which make its application mandatory. Let us consider wage supplements to foremen based on rate classification. Although the USSR State Committee for Labor approved the new approach to this matter some time ago, it "forgot" to introduce in the regulating documents a clear stipulation pertaining to such situations. Other similar omissions could be cited.

As we already pointed out, the Sumy machine builders gauge their capacities based on the maximum figure and mandatory two-shift work. The current method used in the country, as well as practical experience are based on the minimal figure: possibilities are computed on the basis of "bottlenecks." It is clear that some people find it disadvantageous to apply the production capacity standard based on the Sumy model. It is clear that the feeling of inertia is still strong among a large number of economic managers. The struggle against it must be waged more energetically, not only with speeches, seminars and recommendations.... Economic levers must be applied more quickly.



The latter, incidentally, is particularly important, for the Sumy method was closely linked from the very beginning with organizational work aimed not only at improving socialist competition but also looking for effective material incentives and the promotion of a conscious labor discipline. These three trends were combined. This is the main prerequisite for the success achieved by the people of Sumy and their faithful followers.

Could it be that the trade union organizations, from plant to sectorial central committees, had taken more fully into consideration the Sumy experience? Many years have passed since it was started, but to this day the stipulations governing the All-Union Socialist Competition among collectives in many industrial sectors lack a clear criterion for defining winners in accordance with the level of utilization of the production potential.

"I cannot understand," said V. Anishchenko, a fitter at the Sumy Machine-Building Association, "why is it that the names of many enterprises are listed on the honor roll even though some may be doing one- and others two-shift work? No comparison is possible between their returns!"

Many other problems, the solution to which has long been awaited by the Sumy machine builders and their followers, have been ignored in the stir of a universal approval. Today we must take the kind of practical steps with which the already tried experience of fuller utilization of the production potential can be disseminated faster and its results become even more substantial. If this is hard for individual departments, why not gather their representatives in a single meeting and introduce the proper amendments to the conditions governing the all-union socialist competition as well as a method for estimating capacities and encouraging the adoption of stressed plans and management wages? This should apply to the whole country rather than individual plants, towns and sectors....

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving the Planning, Organization and Management of Capital Construction" could help to resolve such important problems. It stresses, in particular, the need to submit to the USSR Gosplan, in the course of preparing draft five-year plans, "substantiated proposals on capital investment ceilings and the creation of new production capacities, based on the standards of utilization of existing capacities and the shift coefficient of equipment utilization and extensive application of technical facilities which ensure significant increases in labor productivity."

At the same time, the USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics have been asked to develop and, in coordination with the USSR Gosplan and USSR State Committee for Labor, to approve in 1985 shift coefficients and norms governing the annual amount of work of the equipment in the respective sectors as well as /to set up standards for the utilization of existing production capacities/ (emphasis mine--author) for 1986-1990, with specifications for such coefficients, norms and standards for each subsequent five-year period.

The initiative of the Sumy Machine-Building Association and the Volzhskiy Avtomobilnyy Zavod Association represents an essentially new trend in the



development and intensification of the economic experiment. Its essence is strengthening the economic independence and responsibility of collectives for end work results. What specifically distinguishes them from the other participants in the experiment? Above all, the conversion to assessing the level of achievements (total profits) and the higher cost-accounting enterprise management level on the basis of self-financing, i.e., the recovery of all outlays for simple and expanded reproduction. This means that for the first time on the scale of a large association the production potential will be developed and, naturally, will be used more efficiently and with greater interest on the basis of cost-accounting profits and long-term credits. It is precisely here that the incentives which are part of the very nature of the socialist economy should become fully active, taking into consideration the interests of the labor collective and society. The Sumy people have suggested for this year that the profit plan be increased by 10 percent compared to the initial draft.

Therefore, the time has come to accelerate the application of the Sumy experience on a countrywide basis. This becomes particularly important today, when our construction arsenals have reached a tremendous scale. Let us recall that in the past 5-year period the skillful use of the production potential at the Sumy Machine-Building Association alone saved 11.5 million rubles in capital investments. Briefly, there is something to be borrowed, and we now know from where to borrow it and increase it efficiently. In the case of an intensive economy, this is particularly important.

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[Article by V. Litvinov written on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of M. A. Sholokhov's birth]

[Text] Sholokhov's home in Veshenskaya village had the inordinate ability to rally and draw people to itself. All sorts of visitors, native and foreign, came and not only as guests. People came, bringing urgent matters, their difficulties and needs. In one of his meetings with voters, Sholokhov said that after writing through the night he stepped out in the yard at dawn to smoke a cigarette. Standing near a bullock cart, with the bullocks unhitched, was a kolkhoz Cossack woman, waiting to present her complaint to the deputy. He asked her what made her get up at this unearthly hour. "You are not an office," she answered. "What could one say to that?" Mikhail Aleksandrovich asked with his brief Sholokhov grin. "Naturally, I was not an 'office'...."

On one occasion, in 1967, young writers from different countries--Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians and our own Soviets--came to Veshenskaya at his invitation. It was precisely at that time that Yuriy Gagarin was visiting Sholokhov. Anyone who saw him then remembered him forever as they stood side by side, with arms around each other's shoulders, the old writer and the cosmonaut, flashing his famous smile. The plowman of this eternal earth and the first plowman of the universe....

The young writers described this unforgettable meeting as "Sholokhov's lessons."

This, precisely, is what happened later: the "lessons" began to appear steadily in the headings of articles, columns and journal surveys. An entire literature on this subject seemed to develop by itself. We considered any meeting with Sholokhov and his wise books a lesson which invariably enriched the soul....

Sholokhov is no longer with us. This year, his 80th birthday coincides with the anniversary of the Victory. He is not here to see this month of May, and we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism without him, who honored so sacredly this red-letter day and who had given so much of himself during the war to bring this day closer.... Colonel Sholokhov,

regimental commissar, was in the active army from the first to the last day of the war. The works he wrote on the Great Patriotic War not only reflected the terrible events but were truly fighting books.

His newspaper reports, which began to appear at the very start of the war, carried with them the passionate words of the writer and an incredible power of conviction: "Woe to those who have awakened such hatred and the cold rage of the people's anger!" His "Science of Hatred," which was carried by PRAVDA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in the summer of 1942, during the most bitter and terrible days in the history of our country, was true science and a sentence spread throughout the fronts, having immediately become a combat aphorism: "We carry always this hatred on the tips of our bayonets."... He entitled the first chapters of his war novel "They Fought for the Homeland." These chapters immediately found their way to the front line, to the trenches and dugouts, as "combat leaflets," newspaper pages or small pamphlets.... No other words could explain so completely and exhaustively everything that was taking place and the purpose of all that pain, losses and heroic dedication of millions of people who were blocking the fascist invasion. These millions of people fought for the homeland. These words contained everything--the thought of the invincibility of the people, the oath to win and the highest reward for what the people had accomplished and experienced for the sake of the homeland....

A miraculously preserved old documentary of 1941 has captured a brief episode: the stocky and neat figure of Sholokhov among soldiers on the front line. One thinks of him as the embodiment of the character of the Soviet writer, part of the destiny of the people, the character of our literature who marched with the soldiers along the full length of the front roads and, with them, withstood for the sake of victory....

Sholokhov is not with us but his "lessons" go on. The figure of this outstanding artist continues to grow in our eyes.

The voices of many noted personalities and literary workers and representatives of world culture were heard on the writer's fresh grave, during the burial. It was as though the entire world had realized with unique sharpness who it had lost and what Sholokhov meant to the fate of Soviet and all real literatures....

Those days, these demanding words were heard loudly: Sholokhov was a great artist, a genius. Few such people and books so completely and truthfully reflecting our reality may be found in an entire century.

What made this artistic genius amazing is that as an unpredictable and unique innovator, who daringly brought down durable stereotypes, he was also the legitimate offspring of his time, reflecting everything which was most typical of the broad social and artistic-aesthetic process. It is not in vain that we judge of the most important laws of the art of socialist realism with the help of Sholokhov's books and, above all, that we try to understand through these laws what was special to Sholokhov himself: we speak of the power of his realism, the embodiment of the principles of party-mindedness and national spirit and national originality.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin loved to repeat that nothing is more complex or richer than what is specific and alive. This thought unwittingly comes to mind in the study of a phenomenon such as Sholokhov's works. Alive and always sensitive, it is inexhaustible in its features, and however many definitions we may find for Sholokhov's genius, not one can cover entirely this phenomenon by itself. G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy even considered that "it is inaccurate to try to find a general definition for genius...."

Nevertheless, the study of Sholokhov cannot make us abandon the intention of finding a realistic explanation to the mystery related to the appearance of such a brilliant artist and the nature of his work, the more so since it is a question of Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov, who lived alongside us, who was so earthly and close to everyone, who was so open and clear in every line he wrote!

One of the most important Sholokhov lessons to our literature is that true talent grows on the soil of contemporaneity. Talent becomes powerless without close ties with reality.

However, in Sholokhov's interpretation, contemporaneity is much more complex than the narrowly topical, rigidly limited reality of our day or a calendar period, as sometimes interpreted in our journal practices and book criticism. It is a good thing that in recent years the readers have learned to recognize quite clearly both literary forgeries, which speculate on topical "details," or incidental discussions of matters which are truly urgent, as well as "lofty" works which make deliberate use of contemporary topics as a pretext for depicting some nonsocial abstractions which have nothing in common with live reality.

No, contemporaneity to Sholokhov was never simply a "pretext." On the contrary, it was the main meaning of his works and the main character in everything he wrote. The writer took up writing for the sake of the concerns and accomplishments of our time, in the hope of helping our time and supporting and understanding its vital features.

As befits a genius, ignoring popular considerations of the usefulness of the "distance of time" in art and disrespectful of the fighters against "commonplace reality" in proletarian literature (and, on the other hand, even loudly proclaiming that the "ironic term of 'describer of daily life' is now no longer ironic. One should describe life and it is flattering to be a describer of life!"), Sholokhov turned to the topic of the revolution when it was still burning inside the people, inside its direct participants, powerfully determining their faith. He described the green shoots of kolkhoz developments "synchronously" with the events themselves. He made the characters in his "They Fought for the Homeland" convincingly say that the victory over fascism will inevitably be ours at a time when the enemy was still throwing his weight around on our land and when the foreign press, somehow reconciled with the inevitable, were writing that "Hitler has won." It was at that time that the soldier Lopakin expressed his view on this account simply, albeit somewhat originally: "The moment they turn their backs to the East, we shall tear off the feet of those sons of bitches at the root, so that they will no longer trample our land."



Sholokhov converted the ordinary, the commonplace, into a way of life, making it great and eternal in art. How and why, on the basis of what logic was this done?

Probably because he considered any phenomenon of our time as a characteristic concentration of everything which was part of the people's life until then and will determine their life in the future. The contemporary was a cluster of the essence of the history of the people! It was as though the fate of mankind was reduced to, will Maydannikov take his only bullock to the common kolkhoz herd, and will Andrey Sokolov withstand the insulting comedy of his jailers....

I believe that the true historicism of a writer's work consists of the following: the lines of everything that lives lead to what you are describing today and you invest all of yourself in it--your past, your practical experience and cherished thoughts you have had for many years. You invest your personality, which is unique in the world! Sholokhov was truly such a personality, who lived life to the fullest. He was inordinately hard-working and daring. He "plunged" into each one of his books as though these were his final, his all-responsible lines. "I am in favor of the blood of the writer to be boiling when he writes," Mikhail Aleksandrovich said. "I am in favor for his face to turn white from restrained hatred of the enemy, when he writes about the enemy, and for the writer to laugh and cry together with the character he loves, who is dear to him. It is only then that a work of true art rather than a forgery can be created."

Such is the approach of a great artist to the topic of contemporaneity. It is only this which explains the frequently noted paradox: Sholokhov had reached the peaks of world literature, but with what characters? With a village boy who fell in love with his neighbor, a married woman, and who later plunged into the maelstrom of the war.... With a plowman at the remote and isolated Gremyach village, which had decided to create a kolkhoz.... With an unfortunate driver deprived of his permit, now walking the streets in the hope of finding a new job and who describes his sad war story to someone he meets accidentally at a stop along the way.... Were these characters worthy of world literature?

In addition to everything else, Sholokhov's achievement offers to the reader a wise course of dialectical perception of his surroundings, an understanding of life in its complexity and contradictoriness and the "different charges" within literally every phenomenon. Sholokhov's books are a radical antidote to flatness and one-dimensionality, and to simplistic formulas, thoughtlessly made to fit all occasions.

One must rise to a certain level to understand how, in the final account, the trials of a Cossack (by no means "typical" in the usual meaning of the term) suddenly turn into a grandiose canvas of popular life and revolution. And of the way this develops in his writings into an amazing narration--an epic, a true popular epic yet, with a specific structure, consisting of a scrupulous psychological approach and romantic contact with nature, the earthly daily .pa

details, simple humor, the natural lively Cossack speech and, at the same time, the extreme tragedy of the motif....

For the past 50 years the world has been reading the "And Quiet Flows the Don," and modern researchers find in it, not without amazement, a great deal of what seems to have appeared only yesterday, as the latest artistic development: the wisdom of the "open end," the inner energy of the "stream of consciousness," the concept of time as an aesthetic and philosophical category.... For all of this, one could say with fatal submissiveness that this is always the case with great men, that ever new layers are peeled off in their books as time goes by. One could simply ask: Is it because in the past something was seen in Sholokhov's and other outstanding works that all of this became possible today in world art?

It is here that we find the explanation of the paradox we mentioned: when we see in the peak accomplishments of the world the simple plowman, or the driver in worn-out jacket and boots, accepted by mankind as the true characters in high tragedy! Is this not the reason for saying that Sholokhov, alongside all Soviet literature and realistic art of the present and the past, enhanced, step by step, to this level the character of the common man, bringing to light the beautiful soul of the working person?

Sholokhov made his reader and, with him, the entire world, understand this dialectic, which cannot be explained in simple terms in theory but which asserts true art day after day: the fact that such human characters and circumstances exist in which the ordinary and individual also turn out to embody high social ideals, carrying eternal features and expressing an entire age. "I would like," Sholokhov said in receiving the Nobel Prize in Stockholm, "for my books to help the people to become better, for the soul to become purer, for they awaken love for man and the aspiration actively to struggle for the ideals of humanism and the progress of mankind. If I have succeeded in accomplishing this to a certain extent, I will be happy."

The truth of life are words which are most frequently related to Sholokhov's books. This truth has always been the most important prerequisite for the understanding of his time. To the writer, they are interdependent and interdefined.

Everyone--friends and foes alike--were aware of Sholokhov's love of truth. This applied even to his enemies who, from time to time, mounted a "crusade" against the noted Soviet artist.

How many rigid definitions were applied to Sholokhov's truth.... It was said that, like Tolstoy, this writer did not allow himself even the "untruth of silence" (as the author of "War and Peace" said, the artist can be accused of lying even if he merely ignores or turns his eyes away from anything important in reality). Mikhail Sholokhov's creative biography is inseparably linked with the question that all truth is necessary!

As a 17-year-old boy he came to Moscow from the Don, already with the experience in battle with the Chonov combat detachments, in intelligence and liquidation of gangs (he had the occasion to face Makhno himself!). At the

Moscow labor exchange he answered not without pride to the question of his profession: supply commissar....

A snapshot has been preserved of this boy soldier with a fur hat slanted on one side and a pipe between his teeth! It was difficult for him to adapt to the atmosphere of the big and small literary groups in the capital of that time (beginning of the 1920s), where florid "romanticism" blossomed everywhere, with characters who, before dying in the heather grass of the steppes, plunged into pompous monologues, composed above all by those who had never smelled gunpowder.

Amazed at such self-conscious writing, the young Sholokhov swore to himself that he would tell the truth about what had taken and was taking place in the steppe, from which he had just come, what the real class struggle was like and how "people died with sickening simplicity" (his words at that time). Let the people know that there, at the borders of the republic, the difficulties facing the young Soviet system were incredible. The kulaks remained omnipotent and the struggle occasionally assumed such rural morose and merciless forms that sons lined up their fathers against the wall and brother fought brother....

These were his "Don Stories," which he wrote nights (days he worked in a bricklayer cooperative and paved Moscow's streets, for the labor exchange could not find for him at that time a position as food commissar). The stories were published in a booklet in 1926 and, welcoming the appearance of a new talent and predicting a great future for him, Serafimovich particularly pointed out a "conciseness" which was "full of life, tension and truth" for the author had a "tremendous knowledge of what he was describing."...

The young person, for whom usually everything lies ahead, sometimes does not realize himself the significance of initial independent decisions, a first accomplishment or a first book. It seems to him that this is merely a test. Yet, this is true life and the choice has been made and that which will perhaps determine his entire future has taken shape. A great deal in these "Don Stories" was imperfect, a search. However, the key was already in the hands of the author and the uncompromising nature of his life stance had clearly become the decisive creative criterion.

It was to be said 60 years later that the writer had lived his great life because once, in his youth, he had sworn to stand up for the truth once and for all and had never retreated by a single step to his very last day! We are familiar with his demanding letters in defense of people, his unprecedentedly frank appeal to the Americans during the war and his speeches at congresses, which frequently rubbed the wrong way great ministers and noted writers, who were heading the literary process (let us recall his prophetic warning of how costly our tolerance of the ever-growing wave of "gray" literature, averaged and approximate, could become).

However, speeches and letters account for merely one volume of his collected works. Seven others, novels and stories, witness the path he followed, and this ever-deepening civic and artistic truth.



Let us take any one of Sholokhov's characters: how fiercely they look for the truth! This is the theme of "Don Stories" and the leitmotiv of his entire "And Quiet Flows the Don." How high is the spiritual stress with which the Gremyachi peasants listened to every word spoken by Davydov, and how important it is for them to reach the very bottom of events. It may appear as though the soldiers Lopakhin and Streltsov, from the regiment defeated at the Don Salient, are not seeking the truth in the least, while they are choking from the dust and the smoke, collapsing from fatigue, yet keep shrieking at one another: "Now, here is how I think the situation with our army is...." Does the search for truth not inspire literally all of Sholokhov's books?

It is said that a true work of art is always a question addressed to reality. Equally popular today is the view (as concernedly commented in the press) that, allegedly, nothing else should be demanded of the writer. What is important is for him to raise the question and that eventually someone will come up with the answer.... A judgment, bluntly put, is a "retreat" in terms of theory and the entire practice of the literature of socialist realism and that is not what it stood for in previous decades. Many are those who could object to such a concept in Sholokhov's books, for he has never shifted the burden to the shoulders of others. He looked to himself for answers, he thought over the problems, he called upon his fellow writers to "speak with the reader honestly, to tell the people the truth, sometimes harshly but always courageously, to strengthen in the hearts of humans faith in the future and in one's strength and ability to build this future."

One can easily see the essential difference between the panicky "truth" of the petit bourgeois, the "lode truth" which can be divvied out most conveniently, and this truly high truth of the artist and philosopher filled with civic courage and filial love for one's native land.

Naturally, this truth always has a sharp critical base, for if it is a truth of, above all, what is difficult, touchy and conflicting, the more so since the writer must emphasize the events and bring the situation to its dramatic extreme in order to present it in its entire depth and to test the character by applying utmost pressure. Any serious work of art necessarily contains the fire of polemics, for the reason alone that the author tries to "shout" to the world about something exceptional, which disturbs the ordinary trend of events or established dogmas, his target being to open the way to something new, still inadequately realized by the people. This is a mandatory law of artistic development.

Nevertheless, superior dialectical wisdom means, precisely, that in the artist's truth critical features are inseparably welded with features which are positive and encouraging. Sholokhov's famous statement that what he wanted most was to discover in his characters the "charm of the person" (specifically, this applied to the character of Grigoriy Melekhov, which was among the most complex and contradictory), is an organic part of Sholokhov's truth! The manner in which a phenomenon in "Virgin Land Upturned," the unusual nature of which, in my view, has still not been properly realized by our literary theory, is that in the novel, particularly in its second volume, the positive, the broad social thought of the value of morality, stemming from the depths of popular life and the moral and ethical firmness of the working



person and the roots of democracy and the decisive feeling of collectivism, is a thought which, somehow, turns out to be the linchpin of the entire narration, which is extremely dramatic and full of struggle and painful human trials.

It turns out that Sholokhov's loyalty to the topic of our contemporaneity powerfully predetermined the entire characteristics of his artistic-civic truth. There is no material, "primary," prosaic or special, which does not lend itself to interpretation in a novel, something which was highly typical of Sholokhov (let us recall how in "Virgin Land Upturned" the organizational-technical aspects of the work of the chairman look or the depiction of the all-Russian deployment of the Cossack forces in "And Quiet Flows the Don"). However, with such an approach to everything that is essential, nevertheless, in the stream of reality disgorged by contemporary "unstable" topics, Sholokhov singled out particularly carefully that which essentially determines the main trend in the life of the people. He found the truly modern way to describe this, for contemporaneity means not only reality but its interpretation as well. One can speak of contemporaneity only in contemporary terms!

And it is after it seems that all such conditions, dictated by the topic, have already been met, all of a sudden yet another decisive prerequisite arises above all the others. It has to do with the readers.

Understandably, a book about the present will always be read and experienced somewhat differently from a historical narration or science fiction. For here we are dealing with topics which are exciting and concerning us precisely today, things which are occurring under our very own eyes and frequently involving us personally!

Try to imagine how many Andrey Sokolovs read "The Fate of Man," and how many front-line lieutenants read in their time the real "Science of Hatred." Here is what someone said, writing from the trenches of the Great Patriotic War, on the subject of "They Fought for the Homeland": "...We had come to nearly the middle of the book, where the author depicts German tanks attacking a hill defended by the battalion of comrades Lopakhin and Zvyagintsev. At that point, the order came from the observation point to our firing position, to scatter fascist tanks. Infantry and submachine gunners mounted the attack. Every member of the crew rapidly took his position, and the people by the guns shouted, repeating Lopakhin's and Zvyagintsev's words: 'Let them come, we shall knock out, we shall knock out the fascist vermin'" ("Pisateli v Otechestvennoy Voiny 1941-1945 gg." [Writers in the 1941-1945 Patriotic War]. Moscow, 1946, p 38).

In the prose of our time, where the picture of the present is unraveling under the very eyes of its participants, it may seem that even the slightest false detail which could escape being noticed by an eyewitness, or any artistic license which, under different circumstances, would only add spice to the narration, is impossible....

In this case, the exigency of the reader toward the author is unyielding: if you write about the present, if you touch on something sensitive which

personally affects the individual and which is essential, you must answer the questions, you must help the people, you must become involved and tell them how it should be!

It was the classics themselves which gave this interpretation of the topic of contemporaneity in art. From their very first steps, they developed the literature of socialist realism. These characteristics of the topic acquired a truly classical development in Sholokhov's works. At the same time, it was an interpretation which was entirely consistent with the new times and new requirements. With a rare power of persuasion his books proved that the truth toward which the artist strives can be truly found in our age only with the help of a Marxist outlook and practical experience directly involved in remaking reality on the basis of the principles of social justice.

Actually, this was the type of broad vision which the author of "And Quiet Flows the Don" had to have in order to see immediately this human world which was being remade despite itself, to see its depths, which contained the age-old people's life, to feel with each nerve the forward march of history. What profound inner conviction this required and faith in the communist ideal, to dare to approach what was tragic in the revolution, its birth pains!

In a word, entire ages have merged within this artist: he was our contemporary, he was an active participant in all current affairs and he was a literary classic--a classic of socialist, domestic literature, where he justifiably found himself in the same rank as Dostoyevskiy, Chekhov, Tolstoy and Gorkiy, in world literature....

Is it not amazing that at the time of its publication, when the problem of the individual has become particularly crucial, "And Quiet Flows the Don" was as topical as it remained a good half-century later--for readers around the planet, for millions of people, not all of whom have a specific idea of where the Cossack River Don flows....

However, wherever a person may live and whatever his profession may be, to him today there is no more important question than the one answered by "And Quiet Flows the Don" in an age of thundering social revolutions: What does my small existence as an individual mean, what is its value? Where is its place among clashing classes, and is it mandatory for me to take a stand in the struggle or find myself in the type of preserve, where the storms will not affect me, and when I can live by myself? In this entire omnipotent historical process, are all doubts and insights, errors and losses, which occur to those who retreat and fail to find their place, a link in the process or simply an impersonal grain of sand?

Some books are as though written by the period itself. "And Quiet Flows the Don" was created to meet a need of our 20th century. Sholokhov's "answers" are not declarations or universal formulas. They are presented in the artistic language accessible to all, based on the circumstances of a simple human life, cherished thoughts and suppressed feelings. What is striking is that, using this language, Sholokhov speaks of profoundly philosophical and ideological matters! He tells not individuals but entire nations about the nature of the socialist revolution, its inevitability in the people's life and

all of its possibilities and cruel extremes, such as the events of the mutiny in the Upper Don. However, it is precisely in this merciless law of the revolution, "And Quiet Flows the Don" proves, that we find the supreme optimism of the historical process. Here even tragedy has a constructive potential which irrepressibly brings to life the latent forces of the human soul and the soul of the people, of the sociomoral capacities which are needed if one is to live a truly happy and just life....

When alongside the powerful "And Quiet Flows the Don" stands "Virgin Land Upturned" and "Fate of a Man," a story which became a big novel and everything else written by Sholokhov, we take these books as the universal artistic chronicles of socialist times: October, the Civil War, the first five-year plans and collectivization, the Great Patriotic War, the postwar period.... Our entire Soviet life! The very appearance of the new historical community--the Soviet people--is recreated artistically and the live track to the period of developed socialism is retraced.

However, Sholokhov's works can be described also as chronicles of humanism with equal justification. The "fascination with man" is not only an admiration of human beauty and assertion of how spiritually splendid a person could be, but also a challenge hurled at the world, a passionate appeal to all systems and processes: care for man, always remember man as the beginning of everything! It is precisely communist humanism which was at the source of our revolution and it was for the sake of man that it was made. Love of man is the daily support of our Soviet system. The image of the humanism in the contemporary world, depicted by Sholokhov, cannot fail to strike us with its simplicity and infinite wisdom: "humanism, love of man and mankind.... How differently various people tend to interpret this concept, depending on the forces of human society they represent! We, Soviet writers, consistent with our communist convictions, believe that if a murderer or robber has raised a hand against a victim, those who merely pity the poor victim and bemoan the fact that murder exists on earth, are not humanists. Humanists are those who fight, who help stop the hand of the murderer and disarm its malicious will."

Such a Sholokhovian conviction resounds around the planet and becomes part of the precious values of mankind. There is something very contemporary in the universal recognition of Sholokhov's work. It influences the general literary process on a daily basis, spreading far the truth of Soviet society and the force and characteristics of the socialist way of life. The universal feature which, in Sholokhov's works, it turns out, is found in a huge concentration, opens the path to the hearts of all sorts of people. Sholokhov has truly become the acquisition of world culture!

Our students of Sholokhov must always hear this consideration in mind. From whatever angle they may be considering his outstanding works, they will always reveal a reflection of the entire world. That is why today it seems somewhat strange to approach the great epic of "And Quiet Flows the Don," for example, with uninspired parochial interpretations, when the researcher's only concern is scrupulously to identify immortal characters with the actual chronicles of the past and make his literary investigation of the extent to which various representatives of the Soviet authorities were involved in the events on the Don (in his work "The Wisdom of the Artist," A. Metchenko justifiably notes on



the subject of such a "local interpretation" of the novel that "however tremendous was the harm caused to the prestige of the Red Army by 'leaders' such as Malkin, drawing attention merely to one or two components of the set of reasons which led to the uprising does not contribute to penetrating inside the core of the ideological concept of the epic and its reflection through the fate of the characters").

Sometimes, the essence of "Virgin Land Upturned" as well is reduced more than anything else to an interpretation of the role of the middle peasant class at the time of collectivization, as though Sholokhov had written not a novel full of life but a sociological treatise on a given topic.

Actually, the sins of narrowly local interpretation and parochialism are no worse than the other extreme in which the clearly class, the party aspect, which is the very base of his creativity, becomes diluted in expatiations on eternity and universality, which are so expressively voiced by Sholokhov. Sholokhov rose to a universal-historical level precisely because he included in the world of the artist an exceptional ideological principle-mindedness. The readership at large considers the presence of socialist realism in his books precisely in the sense that, in all cases, the author remains a sober and perspicacious realist and looks at the world from socialist positions!

In the study of Sholokhov as a science of literature, the great test is to try to be equal to Sholokhov, to be able to develop a specific feeling of the incredible complexity of this brilliant talent.

Clearly, in the study of Sholokhov's legacy, we approach an important landmark beyond which the truly great, qualitatively new study of literature begins. Rich and varied observations have been accumulated, not only in the realm of Soviet literary criticism, for Sholokhov's books invariably draw the attention of foreign researchers, particularly in the socialist countries. For a long time now, anything written about Sholokhov has exceeded by dozens and dozens of times the volume of his collected works (the mass reprinting of which, by the way, has become extremely timely).

This accumulation requires a comprehensive interpretation of the high contemporary standard of philosophical and sociological thinking, in the context of everything achieved by socialist literature and our creative method of socialist realism. Who knows, possibly such a decisive consolidation of research within a single yet exclusively important area of literary studies could provide an impetus for the energizing of all other sectors in contemporary literary science and the assertion of new profound criteria and an ever more perfect scientific-creative methodology.

Sholokhov's books and the history of their creation and life are priceless material for understanding the entire contemporary significance of art in the loud contradictions of the nuclear century and in the world of the constructive establishment of a communist civilization. For these are books about which we know that in previous decades they directly participated in molding public awareness, enriching the spiritual potential and refining aesthetic taste--in the civic upbringing of the new man.



Sholokhov is one of the most popular writers and, naturally, in the course of such a long period of time, a tremendous amount of responses by the readers, containing an accurate popular view of literature and, even more so, of life itself, has developed (understandably, among the readers of his books). We must necessarily mention the exceptionally democratic nature of Sholokhov's truth, understandable to one and all, among the many given definitions of his truth. That is why an ordinary literary discussion of his books, according to which they contain the truth of life and the truth of art and that his characters do not actually exist but are merely products of his imagination, and so on, is difficult. Sholokhov's books have always been understood as being life itself and its immutable truthfulness has been believed "more than people could believe in themselves," to use a poetic sentence, by the soldiers to whom Sholokhov turned with words of hope during the bitterest days of the war, and the noted foreign men of culture, to such an extent that on his appeal the active supporters of peace would gather around the "round table"...

As the poet of our time, Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov himself was an organic inseparable part of it. We know the way "Virgin Land Upturned" was discussed at raykom bureau and general meetings of the newly organized kolkhozes and how specific resolutions were passed on the subject of the novel. We know the way "And Quiet Flows the Don" went into battle with the revolutionaries of different countries and in different decades. Sovkhozes, ships, trains and sanatoriums have been named after his books. The Don Steppe itself, which today is often given the name of Sholokhov's novel, has become a memorial worthy of his fame: an M. A. Sholokhov State Museum-Preserve is being created by decision of the party and the government at the birthplace of the writer, where he lived and where he is buried, which will include not only memorial homes and village streets but, as the decree stipulates, also "protected natural zones in Sholokhovskiy Rayon...."

He is also immortalized in our souls.

This is because without him we cannot imagine the nature of the great years of the past, any more than we could without Gagarin's flight, the conquering of the virgin land, the splitting of the atom, the victory of Vietnam and the building of the Baykal-Amur Mainline.... These books are the biographies of many people. They are the destinies of people who cried with Grigoriy over Aksina's fresh grave, laughed at Shchukar's amusing stories, rushed the Polovtsy machine gun alongside Davydov and felt around his neck the small hands of Vanyushka, the small homeless child: "Daddy! I knew! I knew that you would find me, that you would! I waited for such a long time for you to find me!"...

It is true that great books are like a well: the more water you draw out of it the richer it gets. To the new generations there will always be a new revelation. In precisely the way we feel today, a century from now the people

of this distant and unknown future will be sad, concerned, hopeful and profoundly thoughtful alongside Sholokhov's characters. Their thoughts will merge with ours across the distance of the century. Sholokhov's books are an imperishable string leading from the past to the future.

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## HISTORIC VICTORY OF GREAT IMPORTANCE

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[Article by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria]

[Text] Four decades have passed since that historic date of 9 May when the struggle of the peoples was crowned by the crushing rout of Hitlerite fascism. The unfading glory of that victory will continue to shine among the greatest events in the history of mankind.

Fascism was a negation not only of socialism but also of bourgeois liberalism and not only of proletarian but also of bourgeois democracy. It declared a merciless and brutal war against everything revolutionary, democratic and progressive, against humanism and culture. The smoke of Auschwitz and Dachau, the ashes of burnt villages and ruins of devastated cities, the gallows on which the lives of the best sons and daughters of peoples suddenly ended, the concentration camps of death and the jails from one end of Europe to the other where millions of people were tortured and where they perished, and the bonfires of most important works of world literature--this was the "new order" which the Hitlerites had prepared for the peoples of our continent. With fire and sword fascism marched through the countries of Europe. As an enormous black avalanche, it embarked on the march with fire and sword to smash the first socialist country and democracy in the world and to strangle social progress.

Never before in its entire history had mankind faced such a terrible danger.

The removal of fascism from the path of history not only removed that danger but also created the heretofore unknown possibilities for deep sociopolitical transformations. The people's democratic revolutions triumphed in a number of countries. The world socialist system was formed. The colonial system of imperialism collapsed. The process of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale expanded and deepened.

Today the reactionary circles are making constant efforts to distort the truth about World War II and especially its lessons and to revise the results of the historic victory. They are striving to nullify the political and social

realities that are disadvantageous to them; they cast doubt on the correctness and vitality of the decisions of the Yalta conference; and they are waging a struggle to achieve a large-scale sociopolitical revanche to the advantage of contemporary imperialism.

A correct evaluation of the World War II events and the lessons emanating from the victory over fascism and the subsequent development are now and will continue to be in future the condition for a successful struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. History is categorical: the main credit for achieving the historical victory over fascism and for opening up the path for democratic and revolutionary changes after the war belongs to the USSR, the Soviet people. No one will ever succeed in concealing this fact. No one will ever succeed in forcing mankind to forget with what pain it retreated and with what joy it advanced together with the Soviet army and how the peoples rejoiced when they were liberated, directly or indirectly, by the Soviet army.

The Bulgarian people's admiration of and gratitude to the Soviet Union and its legendary army are boundless. They come from the depth of our hearts. They are conditioned by our loyalty to the revolutionary and democratic ideals, by our struggle of many years for democracy and social progress, by the numerous heavy sacrifices made in the struggle for socialism, and by our patriotism and internationalism. These are the ideals that would not have become a reality without the Soviet Union's decisive help. These are the ideals and the reality that today link us forever with the USSR peoples.

World War II was born in the bosom of the capitalist system. Imperialists of all countries are guilty in this connection. But the main responsibility for starting a world conflagration is borne by international fascism and especially German Nazism.

Hitlerite Germany strove for world domination. Its aggression was primarily directed against the USSR and the world communist movement. However, according to its strategy, it was proposed beforehand to subjugate capitalist Europe. An opportunity arose for joint actions to curb the aggressor.

In the 1930s, the USSR consistently struggled--and this is an irrefutable historical fact--to organize collective security in Europe. The USSR was the only big power that sincerely wanted peace and did everything possible to defend it. Soviet foreign policy graphically demonstrated that socialism and peace are indivisible. World War II could have been prevented if the governments of the capitalist big powers did not nurture hopes for the possibility for directing Hitlerite aggression against the USSR. It was with this intention in mind that, in 1939, Britain and France broke off negotiations on the formation of a Soviet-British-French military-political alliance.

It is well-known how events developed afterwards. Encountering no serious resistance, Hitler's Germany captured nearly the whole of Europe between 1939 and 1941. Exploiting its economy and military industry, it then moved to fulfill its main task.



In the early morning of 22 June 1941, Hitlerite Germany attacked the Soviet Union. Thus began the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people, the war on the outcome of which the future of the world's first socialist state and the future of democracy and social progress on our planet depended.

Following the Hitlerite Germany's attack on the USSR, World War II turned into a just, antifascist, national liberation and progressive war for the states that fought together with the Soviet Union against the shock force of world reaction.

After 22 June 1941, the center of World War II was transferred to the East. Then the military-political alliance of three big powers, the USSR, Great Britain and the United States, rose in face of the monstrous danger to mankind.

The mass resistance of European peoples against the fascist enslavers was an important and inseparable part of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. The partisan armies and detachments in Yugoslavia, Poland, Greece, France, Italy, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and other countries and the antifascist organizations in Hungary, Romania and Germany made their worthy contribution to the common victory. In many countries the struggle against foreign occupiers and national bourgeoisie turned into the struggle for socialism.

The Soviet Union bore the main burden of the war. Twenty million Soviet people, the flower of the Soviet peoples, perished in that war. The Eastern Front was a decisive front for 1,418 days. The hardest fighting took place there. I note for comparison only that the United States lost 400,000 and Great Britain 370,000 men.

The Leninist Communist Party mobilized all forces for the struggle. Selflessly devoted, united and linked together in indestructible patriotic unity, the Soviet people rose as one in defense of their socialist fatherland. Ensuring an unprecedented industrial development, workers and kolkhoz members, engineers and scientists supplied the front with everything needed for victory. The Red Army and its fearless fighters and commanders displayed miracles of heroism and high combat skill.

The Soviet people did not defend only their own freedom and the cause of the Great October Revolution. Fighting for their own socialist fatherland, the Red Army soldiers were at the same time fighting and dying for the freedom of the French and Italians, Poles and Norwegians, Belgians and Albanians, Bulgarians and Greeks, Hungarians and Austrians, Yugoslavs and Dutchmen and Romanians and Danes.

The Red Army also provided direct assistance in the liberation of peoples of central and southeastern Europe. In a majority of these countries the victory of the Soviet Union created favorable conditions for turning the national liberation struggle into the people's democratic revolution. The world socialist system, the greatest achievement of the communist and workers movement after the victory of the October Revolution and the formation of the USSR, came into being and was strengthened.

Bulgaria was one of the countries where the antifascist struggle grew into a people's democratic socialist revolution.

The Bulgarian people well know the bestial face of fascism. Bulgaria was one of the first countries in the world where the fascists seized power. The Bulgarian people were among the first to clash--as early as in 1923--in single combat with the fascist dictatorship.

When World War II started, the BCP proclaimed its program of struggle for democracy, peace and neutrality with the main supporting base in the Soviet Union, the only European big power that did not participate in the armed conflict.

On 1 March 1941, the monarchic fascist ruling clique joined Bulgaria to the Hitlerite fascist coalition despite the clearly expressed will of the people. From 22 June 1941 onward, the success of the struggle against fascism in Bulgaria depended to a decisive extent on the course of military operations on the Eastern Front.

"Soviet workers and peasants," the June 1941 proclamation of the BCP Central Committee said, "are not waging this war only for themselves and for their own freedom and future but also for the freedom and future of all peoples oppressed by hated fascism, for the freedom and future of the working people and the oppressed of all countries." The party warned: "Bulgarian people, be vigilant! The fate of Europe and your own fate are being decided. It depends on this grandiose struggle whether you, too, will be able to rejoice over a long-awaited freedom or you will be turned into working animals and slaves of loathsome fascism." The proclamation concluded with clear and mobilizing appeals: "Not a single grain of Bulgarian wheat and no piece of Bulgarian bread to German fascists and plunderers! No single Bulgarian at their service! May anyone who wants to coerce the Bulgarian people to raise their hand against their Soviet brothers be damned and may he bear an enormous responsibility, both personal and historical!"

The patriotic forces of the nation rose in response to the party's call for armed struggle. Members of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union and nonparty patriots stood up together with the communists and members of the Worker Youth Union who represented the main force. In 1942 the party united all consistent democratic and antifascist forces in the Fatherland Front. Tens of thousands of partisans and their helpers and concealers fought against the monarchic fascism in the belief that they are fighters of the invincible and legendary Red Army and an indivisible part of the common front of the peoples resisting fascism.

The historic merit of the BCP is in the fact that, thanks first and foremost to the struggle organized by it, monarchic fascism, a loyal and staunch ally of the Hitlerites, was not able to dispatch a single Bulgarian soldier as a volunteer to the Eastern Front. Bulgarian Jews were also saved from death in concentration camps and crematoria. No Soviet soldier died on Bulgarian soil from Bulgarian bullets.

Following the Iasi-Kishenev operation and the Red Army's arrival at the Danube, the revolutionization of the masses achieved its apogee. The armed struggle grew into the people's uprising. The war declared by the Soviet Union against monarchic fascist Bulgaria was considered by our people as an act of fraternal help in their struggle. Grandsons and great grandsons of the soldiers who, 67 years ago, had brought us our national freedom after 5 centuries of brutal foreign domination, followed in their footsteps. It was with the support of Soviet soldiers that the Bulgarian people finally won their freedom--dearly paid for in feats and sacrifices--in the people's antifascist uprising on 9 September 1944.

The Soviet Union's decisive assistance is a distinguishing feature not only of our September socialist revolution but also of all people's democratic revolutions in European countries. None of these countries was able to liberate itself without the Red Army's victories and without its direct assistance. This objective historical fact in no way diminishes the significance of their antifascist struggle and does not result in its underestimation. Certain tendencies to present the people's democratic revolutions as a whole and each of them separately either as events that were not conditioned by objective internal processes (here we once again encounter the reactionary theory of "exportation of revolution") or only as the result of actions of the internal forces alone are also contrary to the historical truth.

Following the victory of the September socialist revolution, new Bulgaria actively joined the war against the Nazis in its final stage. This was a natural continuation of the struggle we had waged earlier, a fulfillment of our international duty to the liberation struggle of the peoples, and a response to the objective demands of the military-strategic situation in the Balkans.

It was together with the Soviet Army and the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia that the Bulgarian army of nearly 500,000 men fought bravely to expel the Hitlerite hordes from the Balkans and assist in Yugoslavia's liberation. The First Bulgarian Army, incorporated in the third Ukrainian front, together with the Soviet troops, routed the Hitlerite fascists on the Drava and thereby helped in the liberation of Hungary and Austria. Its heroism was noted in the orders of the supreme commander in chief of the Soviet Armed Forces, I. V. Stalin. Representatives of the First Bulgarian Army earned for themselves the great honor of participating in the victory parade together with their brothers, the glorious Soviet fighters and commanders.

Our Bulgarian people take pride in the fact that, under the conditions under which they were forced to fight, they did the maximum possible for the common victory over fascism.

The course and end of World War II convincingly demonstrated that it is impossible to conquer socialism with military means. World War II demonstrated not only the possibility for but also the necessity of cooperation between states with different social systems in the name of democracy and the common goals of mankind. This conclusion is especially



topical today when people wage the struggle against the danger of a thermonuclear war.

The historic victory of the Soviet people over German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II had a profound effect on the direction and entire course of development in the last 40 years.

As a result of the victories of people's democratic revolutions, socialism moved beyond the boundaries of one country and grew into an international phenomenon and force. The world socialist system was born and in this connection a decisive turning point occurred in the history of Europe and the annals of mankind.

The triumph of the socialist revolution in several European and Asian countries and the appearance of the world socialist system have a profound law-governed character that is conditioned first and foremost by the internal social processes and internal social-class conflicts. The world socialist system is fulfilling in a worthy manner its historical mission of building a new and higher socioeconomic formation.

Real socialism, its examples, and its ideological and material force represent today--if I may be allowed to paraphrase the words of our great teacher, Marx--that locomotive of history which is revolutionizing the contemporary world and furthering the rise of the international communist and workers movement. Real socialism is the mighty shoulder on which the national liberation movements of Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the progressive forces throughout the world find their main support.

The social development provides grounds for the historical conclusion: the states of the socialist community are in the vanguard of the social-historical progress. Accounting for about one-fifth of the world's territory and population, CEMA member countries have been able to build the productive forces that enable them to produce one-third of the world's industrial products and one-fifth of the world's agricultural products and create one-fourth of the world's national income. They account for one-third of the world's scientific-technical potential.

By the beginning of the 1970s several CEMA states had entered the stage of building developed socialism. In this period socialism is built and developed on its own socialist foundation. It reveals all of its potential opportunities for the growth of productive forces and perfecting of production relations and for the advancement of the standard of living and culture on the masses and the individual. Developed socialism is the stage at which socialism more and more reveals its indisputable advantage over capitalism in all spheres of social life.

In the past decades the CEMA countries have established themselves as the most stable and dynamically developing international economic community. Precisely our socialist community has developed and implemented in practice the new code of international relations that are based on the principles of justice, equality and the harmonious combination of national and international interests. It, our socialist community, has turned rapprochement and



friendship between peoples into a law of its policy and it is thanks to this fact that the needs and progressive aspirations of the working people of each country have been met and fulfilled to an increasing extent under the conditions of fraternal unity and mutual assistance.

The decisions of the Moscow Conference on Economic Problems of Socialist Countries (in June 1984) have opened a new stage in the development of relations between the fraternal parties and CEMA member countries. As the BCP Central Committee Politburo has assessed them, the decisions adopted by that Conference represent a creative collective contribution by our parties to the further enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of socialist construction. These decisions define the main directions of interaction between countries of the socialist community and the further expansion of their economic integration on a long-term basis.

World socialism has at its disposal all the necessary prerequisites for successfully solving the new tasks. It has the economic and scientific potential and the political support of the working people; it possesses the historical advantages that are inherent in the socialist system.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria can serve as one of the examples in this connection.

Bulgaria has fundamentally changed its appearance in the last 4 decades. It has grown from being an extremely backward agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian state where socialism has finally and irrevocably triumphed.

The leading place in the economy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is now held by industry, which accounts for 68 percent of the country's gross social product and for 58 percent of its national income. The makeup of contemporary Bulgaria is primarily determined by the branches that act as promoters of scientific-technical progress. They are electronics and electrical engineering, the machine building, chemical and metallurgical industries and energetics. These branches account for more than 40 percent of all industrial production.

Great revolutionary changes have also taken place in agriculture. Significant achievements have been accomplished by means of the consistent consolidation of agricultural organizations and concentration and specialization of agricultural production and its integration with industry. Today less than a third of the number of people engaged in our agriculture produce 3 times as much as in 1939.

Conditions have been created for all people to realize their right to work, to obtain free education and medical services, to use social guarantees and to have wide access to scientific and cultural values. The prosperity of the Bulgarian working people is constantly increasing.

In the course of development of socialist democracy in our country, social-state and state-social principles are being established, that is, the forms of administration that have a long-term importance for the development of the

political superstructure. The tendency of our state to grow into an all-people's state is becoming clearer and clearer.

The formation, in the material and spiritual spheres, of the new socialist man-worker, of the individual with a high patriotic and civic self-awareness, a creative and bold individual, represents the greatest achievement of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In our opinion, the construction of a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria is of international importance. The successes achieved by our people on the road to mature socialism increase the attractive force of communist ideas and real socialism. At the same time, our experience represents a confirmation of the worldwide historic importance of the Soviet example and of the universal significance of the basic laws of transition from capitalism to socialism and of building the new society. Of greater international significance is also the fact that Bulgaria has achieved its successes under the conditions of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with other countries of the socialist community and increasingly full and comprehensive closeness and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

In all its activity the BCP has demonstrated and consistently and steadfastly continues to demonstrate its understanding of internationalism as a dialectical unity of the responsibility of each individual party before its own country's workers class and people and the responsibility for the fate of the communist cause as a whole.

At the present stage of its development Bulgaria is seeking and finding the forms, ways and means--appropriate for socialism--for carrying out the scientific-technical revolution and accelerating scientific-technical progress. Recently, that is, at the February 1985 Plenum, the BCP Central Committee adopted a program document on immediately achieving the scientific-technical revolution as a global strategy and practical platform for combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of contemporary scientific-technical progress, and for the successful fulfillment of the historic task of building a developed socialist society in the country.

The BCP and the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria attach exceptional importance to cooperation and integration with the Soviet Union in the sphere of science and scientific-technical progress. Soviet science has to its credit major leading achievements in fundamental areas. It has a strong industrial and cadre potential that enables it to be in the front ranks of scientific and social progress.

The ensuring of the 40-year period of peace, unprecedented in the history of European peoples, and the guarantee of possibilities for not allowing the unleashing of a new world war that would inevitably be a thermonuclear one, represents one of the most important and exceptionally significant results of World War II.

Although imperialism refused to reconcile itself for a single minute to the existence of the young Soviet socialist state, the period between the Great October Revolution of 1917 and World War II objectively demonstrated the

possibility for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The experience of World War II once again confirmed the wisdom and lasting vital significance of that Leninist principle. The coalition was an achievement of historical development. It demonstrated already then that broad cooperation, including an alliance for the purpose of solving mankind's global problems, is completely possible between states with different social systems. The postwar organization of the world agreed upon by the participants of the antifascist coalition has proven that respect for established borders and sociopolitical systems in Europe provides the basis for preservation of peace. The attempts of imperialist circles to dispute this organization resulted in the "cold war." And the unconditional recognition of and respect for this organization opened up the path to peaceful coexistence and detente, a fact that provided the foundation of the high peak of international mutual understanding achieved in Helsinki in 1975.

Today it is possible to state with complete conviction that everything positive achieved in the relations between European states and peoples in the 40-year postwar history has been achieved on the basis of recognition of the results of World War II, the borders and sociopolitical realities established after the war, and the agreements between the states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

As far as we are concerned, there are two topically important conclusions that result from the postwar development.

First, what is needed is a real sociopolitical and military-economic force that would guarantee that the established realities and agreements are taken into account and that it would thereby bar the road to revanchism, one of the main areas where peace on the planet can be disrupted. Such a force is also needed to prevent the fulfillment of the claims of imperialism to world domination and its claim to deciding the fates and future of people.

This force exists. It is the comprehensive might of the socialist community. Having risen as a counterweight to the NATO aggressive bloc, the defensive military-political alliance of our socialist states, the Warsaw Pact, also stands on guard. Festively marking the 30th anniversary of the Pact's formation and its decisive importance for the preservation of peace and stability in the world in the past years, the member-states of the Warsaw Pact have unanimously decided to extend it because they see this organization as an effective means that has proven its strength in the struggle to consolidate the cause of peace and socialism.

Second, there is no doubt today that an agreement on ending the arms race and on preventing the transformation of outer space into an arena of military confrontation is perfectly possible between the USSR and the United States and between the socialist and capitalist states. "Opportunities for improving Soviet-American relations and for improving the general international situation exist. These opportunities should not be missed. They must be moved to the plane of concrete policy and practical solutions." The optimism expressed in these words of Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is built on a profoundly objective historical basis. Their invocatory force has been also confirmed by the USSR's decision to



introduce a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles until November this year, as well as by the appeal to the United States before all mankind to follow its example. Our optimism is also based on the military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, which is one of the greatest achievements of real socialism. The parity in the military sphere which plays a decisive role in the cause of the prevention of a nuclear war is an exceptionally significant service rendered by the Soviet Union, and the Soviet people.

The peace strategy of our Warsaw Pact member countries is based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. We regard peace not only as the absence of war or abstinence from war for fear of general destruction. We regard peace as a process of strengthening of mutual trust and expansion of honesty and mutually beneficial and equal cooperation. This is objectively necessitated by the internationalization of economy, by the deepening of the international division of labor and by development of the scientific-technical revolution in the contemporary world.

The attempts of certain U.S. circles to pursue a policy of embargoes against the socialist states are doomed to fail. This policy is incapable of limiting our development. It is not only ineffective in relation to us but is also doomed because it is contrary to the interests of business circles and working people of the countries whose governments try to apply it as a means of pressure.

Yes, we are optimists. Considering the contemporary world, it is possible to become convinced that the diversity, might and organization of the forces actively struggling for peace and cooperation are constantly growing. The mass antiwar movement has never before reached the scope it has reached today. It includes the socialist states, the nonaligned developing states, workers and intellectual workers together with a significant part of small owners and medium-level bourgeoisie in the developed capitalist countries. It includes the communists, representatives of national movements and of socialist, democratic and liberal parties, and the realistically minded bourgeois politicians of nearly all parties in opposition or in power.

The correct Leninist attitude of communist parties toward various detachments and currents of this enormous front is the guarantee of our successes in the struggle for peace. The BCP believes that, regardless of political, social and ideological differences, all parties, organizations and movements and all individuals who sincerely want peace and struggle for it must join this mighty front.

The attitude toward preparations for a nuclear war represents in the present conditions that watershed which divides peace-loving mankind from the handful of instigators of war and which provides an objective basis for unifying the efforts of millions of people throughout the world in the struggle to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe. Proceeding from this objective reality, it is necessary today to form a mass social awareness of the need for active and resolute actions against nuclear war. Cooperation and interaction of heterogeneous antiwar forces are being achieved in the most widely



multifaceted forms (and it cannot be otherwise), ranging from the actions and campaigns agreed upon beforehand and forums for examining and discussing various problems to the single-direction actions carried out independently by individual organizations or movements. The territorial scope of these activities also varies from local or national to regional or worldwide. It is obvious that in view of this heterogeneity of composition, this multifaceted nature of the forms of manifestation and the all-embracing territorial scope of the struggle for peace, it is impossible to raise--as a condition for cooperation--any demands for a common political platform or to build any kind of general organizational structures.

The Bulgarian communists fully share the CPSU's assessment that the danger of a thermonuclear catastrophe now represents the main danger for mankind and social progress and that its prevention is the supreme task of the world communist movement. We are doing everything in our power to form a common front of antiwar and peace-loving forces and we will not permit any underestimation of any of its component parts or any of its individual participants. But we well know that the family of fraternal socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union is the force that is of decisive importance in the antiwar front. We do not consider this fact as some kind of advantage. For us this is an awareness of the historical responsibility borne by the countries of the socialist community not only for the fate of the new social system but also for social progress in general and for the fate of human civilization.

To be up to the level of this responsibility, we, as parties and countries, must ensure a constant socioeconomic development and the comprehensive flourishing of our peoples and act in a firm alliance. The flourishing of each individual socialist country and the consistent implementation of the unified foreign policy line of peace and peaceful coexistence are the guarantee that we will fulfill our historical mission.

As regards the role of the socialist countries, it is impossible not to emphasize the principled significance of the question of attitude toward the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union's place and role in contemporary history is not determined by subjective consideration and feelings. They are the result of the exceptional objective fact that this great country under the CPSU leadership was the first to embark on the road of socialism, the first to build socialism, to be able to defend it in the course of wars, and to create favorable conditions for the national and social liberation of dozens of other countries and peoples.

These are the exceptional services rendered by the Soviet Union and no honest man on earth can fail to recognize and respect them.

But it is not only a question of services. What is also involved is the enormous accumulated capital of political skill and social experience and maturity which, together with its economic and military might, make the Soviet Union such a fulcrum of peace and progress in the entire world as simply cannot be replaced with anything else.

Both our present and future successes as well as the existence and achievements of all countries that are struggling for social progress and socialism, for peace in the entire world are unthinkable without this fulcrum, without the wise policy of the CPSU and Soviet country and its boundless internationalism.

The rise of the new socialist system in the form of the great Soviet Union has been of decisive importance for rescuing mankind from the fascist enslavement.

The rise of the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union is of decisive importance for saving mankind from self-destruction.

In the days of reflecting upon and summing up the results of World War II, of the victory, and of the 40-year postwar development, the most important thing, which we, as communists can and must state, is perhaps the fact that human civilization, democracy, and peace have something to be grateful for to the USSR, real socialism and the world communist and workers movement. Mankind has something to set its hopes on its hope for a bright future.

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## CUBA AND THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY

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[Article by Jorge Risquet Valdes, CP of Cuba Politburo member and Central Committee secretary]

[Text] Although the majority of the 10-million-strong population in our country was born after World War II and very far from its battlefields, we, Cubans, ascribe great importance to the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and Japanese militarism. The celebration of the victory enables us to engage in extensive propaganda of the historical role of this great event and to draw the necessary lessons in the dangerous situation which has developed today both in our area and throughout the world. It is no accident that, as in many other cases, our enemies stubbornly try to belittle the greatness of this event and to emasculate its real meaning. They try to present matters as though it is a question merely of an end to a war. Obviously, an objective analysis of the past should contribute to the exposure of the present policies of the promoters of new and even more destructive forces which threaten the very life of mankind.

Our party objectively assesses the historical meaning of the defeat of fascism and its tremendous impact on contemporary international relations. This defeat not only saved mankind from slavery and fascist barbarism. The new conditions which were created after the war with the decisive role of the Soviet Union marked the beginning of a stage of social change which brought about the victory of socialist and people's revolutions, the growth of the national liberation movement and the breakdown of the colonial system, which worsened the general crisis of capitalism and predetermined the appearance of a new ratio of forces in the world.

Exposing the danger of the aggressive policy of imperialism and its efforts to impose its will with the help of blackmail and military superiority over the socialist community and financial pressure on underdeveloped countries, which are carrying the burden of a tremendous foreign debt and hunger, is a major trend in our activities in the international arena.

We are also trying to promote the development of the peace movement and against the threat of nuclear catastrophe and the arms race which is absorbing

resources needed in the struggle against poverty, disease and social backwardness, from which the majority of the population on earth suffers.

On the basis of these tasks, we must counter the efforts of enemy propaganda to delete the results of World War II, as codified in the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, and to strengthen revanchist feelings. All of this is being done to justify the imperialist arms race and is directly aimed at the community of European socialist countries. Efforts are concentrated on subverting its unity based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, and its military-political and economic alliances, such as the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The imperialists and other circles, which frequently join them in slandering the socialist countries, are trying not only to belittle the decisive contribution made by the Red Army to the liberation of the peoples of Europe and Asia, but even to distort the noble internationalist mission of military contingents of the socialist countries which are assisting the fraternal peoples in their struggle against imperialist aggression and reaction on the request of the governments of Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

We emphasize the urgent need for the creation of a climate of peace on the planet, which would make it possible urgently to surmount the tragic situation of the underdeveloped countries. Many of them gained their independence in the postwar period as a result of the favorable conditions created by the defeat of fascism. Today they are literally suffocating under the burden of a tremendous foreign debt and economic problems which are insoluble under the existing circumstances. As long as an atmosphere of confrontation prevails in international relations and hundreds of billions of dollars are wasted in the arms race, which now some are trying to extend to outer space as well, not even the slightest hope exists of undertaking the solution of such problems. Without peace, Comrade Fidel Castro noted, no progress is possible.

That is why, in the case of the liberated countries, most of whom are members of the nonaligned movement, the 40th anniversary of the victory which enabled them to gain and consolidate their independence and which led to the appearance of the socialist system, their loyal ally, is also their own holiday, a source of inspiration in the struggle for life and human dignity.

Peace is the banner which we raise in celebrating the defeat of fascism. Our party is doing everything possible to contribute in a principled and constructive manner to the creation of a climate which removes the threat of war and favors the preservation of peace. Our position toward two major centers of tension which affect us to the greatest extent--in Central America, the Caribbean, and in South Africa--is known. We favor a political solution through talks which would guarantee the independence and the right of the people of Nicaragua to determine its own fate under peaceful conditions; we favor a democratic peace in El Salvador, which would make it possible to resolve the profound socioeconomic problems of that country; we are in favor of an agreement which would guarantee the independence of Namibia, the security of Angola and peace in southwest Africa.



Our party and the entire Cuban people consider the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism as a noteworthy date which belongs to the history of all mankind and as our own holiday.

For many years American imperialism waged in prerevolutionary Cuba a propaganda campaign aimed at distorting and misrepresenting the course and consequences of the struggle against fascism and distorting the role of all nations which participated in it. Efforts were made to convince the Cubans that the war against fascism was waged by the American armed forces alone. It was allegedly precisely they, generously helping their British allies and the other Western countries, who experienced the main burden of the war and ensured the defeat of Nazism.

In this false propaganda the tremendous role of the Soviet people and the Red Army, their lofty spirit of self-sacrifice, boundless dedication and military valor were belittled. Everything was directed toward belittling the decisive contribution made by the Soviet people and its armed forces, headed by the CPSU, in the victory over fascist Germany and Japanese militarism, and the liberation of the peoples of Europe and Asia from fascist slavery and the salvation of world civilization. In particular, the lend-lease aid given the Soviet Union was excessively inflated.

At the same time, the struggle waged by the people's liberation armies, military formations and partisan detachments and patriots in Yugoslavia, Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania and by the participants of the antifascist underground in Germany and the resistance movement in Italy, France, Greece and other countries, was misrepresented. The fact was concealed that the communist parties had played the main role in the organization of this struggle.

Furthermore, the contribution of Mongolia to the defeat of the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria and the lengthy and stubborn struggle waged by the peoples of China, Vietnam, Laos and Korea, under the leadership of the communists, against Japanese militarism, were ignored.

The progressive strata of our people never accepted the slanderous imperialist propaganda. The seeds of internationalism began to grow shoots among the Cuban people long before World War II. Its revolutionary representatives warned on time about the danger of fascism, which had spread throughout Europe and could not fail to be reflected in Cuban policy.

One of the most convincing proofs of the deep roots which internationalist and antifascist ideas had sunk in our country was the participation of more than 1,000 Cuban volunteers in the Spanish Civil War. These best representatives of our people, whose number was considerably in proportion to the Cuban population, 4 million at that time, surmounted innumerable obstacles to reach that distant land of Spain. Alongside the courageous fighters of the Republican Army they recorded outstanding pages in the chronicles of heroism; many of them shed their blood on Spanish soil. Since the beginning of the Hitlerite aggression against the USSR, the Cuban communist and democratic press tried to present to the masses the true picture of events contrary to the one depicted by the powerful bourgeois information media.

The history of Cuba is familiar with the broad movement of solidarity with the USSR, which developed during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people. It led Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet, to state that our people had the strongest antifascist feelings in America. With the decisive participation of the communists, the Confederation of Cuban Working People and other progressive organizations, a national antifascist front was created and numerous actions of solidarity with the heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people took place. They included a nationwide collection of funds for the USSR, and mass demonstrations demanding the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union. Such relations were established in 1942 as a result of this campaign. Our people proudly remember that in the 1940s the first Moscow envoys to Havana were noted Soviet diplomats, such as M. Litvinov and A. Gromyko.

The total support which the Cuban working people gave to the struggle against fascism in the European fronts was manifested in their efforts aimed at producing and supplying important commodities to the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. In order not to hinder the production process and, therefore, their own contribution to the victory over Hitlerite Germany, the working people even abandoned strikes, seeking other means of solving labor conflicts. Cuban merchant marine sailors lost their lives when their ships were torpedoed by Nazi submarines; they sacrificed their lives by performing their duty of delivering Cuban products to the forces of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Our people welcomed with great gratitude and thanks the recent USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase posthumously awarding the Order of the Fatherland Front 1st Class to Enrique Vilar and Aldo Vivo, who died fighting in the ranks of the Red Army.

It is highly symbolic that it is precisely a participant in the destruction of a German submarine, Cuban seaman Norberto Collado, who subsequently became the helmsman of the yacht "Granma." It was aboard this yacht that the fighters who brought the final liberation, headed by Fidel Castro, landed on the shores of the homeland.

The victory of the 1959 revolution in Cuba made it possible to shed full light on historical truth. The dissemination of the truth about World War II under the people's regime helped to strengthen the feelings of friendship which we, Cubans, feel toward our brothers in the USSR and the other members of the socialist community. Their example, as well as the example of the heroic leaders of our people, inspired the groups during the most difficult times and strengthened their revolutionary tempering in the face of a possible enemy aggression.

As early as the days of the Sierra Maestra, Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara carried in his kit bag A. Fedorov's famous book "The Clandestine Obkom in Action." After the victory of the revolution, the kit bags of our militia always had a place for the outstanding works on the war written by the classics of Soviet literature. The defenders of the Brest fortress and of the home of Sergeant Pavlov in Stalingrad, the Panfilovs, who defended Moscow, and

many other characters became the calling signs of courage for the Cuban patriots, for those who stood in the trenches, when Kennedy replaced Eisenhower, for those who went to the Bay of Pigs and doomed to failure the invasion of the mercenaries, encouraged by the imperialists, and for those who, once again with all possible resolve, ignoring the threat of a nuclear strike, took up arms in October 1962.

It was then that we saw who our brothers in arms were. In the selfless aid we received from the Soviet Union at the decisive moments we saw the self-sacrifice and internationalism of the Soviet soldier, which were manifested in the struggle against the fascist hordes.

With the advent of the Reagan administration and the increased threat of large-scale American imperialist aggression, a new generation of men and women joined the ranks of the people's militia. It was for their sake that Soviet literary works on the war were published in hundreds of thousands of additional copies and, once again, the example of the Soviet soldiers inspired them in resisting a possible aggression.

In the course of the nationwide preparations for the defense of the homeland, in addition to the rich historical experience which came to us from the great fighters for Cuban independence in the 19th century, the numerous examples of the firmness, resolve and organization of the Soviet people in the struggle against fascism are of invaluable importance. This also applies to the heroic exploits recently committed by the people of Vietnam.

Our defensive military doctrine also calls for the participation of the entire people in the struggle against any form of enemy aggression, be it naval blockade accompanied by air raids, a war of attrition or a direct invasion by American troops, even including the temporary occupation of the country. In the face of such a serious threat, general mobilization and efficient and thorough military training are the only answer of a nation which has decided to defend itself and to win at all cost. We believe that this will be a restraining factor and will make those who consider possible an aggression against us to think and assume realistic positions, and thus bring about a change in the U.S. political course concerning Cuba.

As the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee points out, to avoid a war means to win it. Cuba has always shown its readiness to normalize relations with the United States on the basis of noninterference in domestic affairs and respect for sovereignty. This means respect for our right to determine our own fate, i.e., the right to follow the path of socialism, which we are building with the efforts of the entire Cuban people and with the help of our loyal friends--the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community.

In the course of the broad campaign conducted in our country, the Cuban people had the possibility to become even better acquainted with the life of the Soviet people and to learn more about their great qualities. Thousands of actions within the framework of this campaign, mass information media materials and other forms of propaganda provide specific examples of the way



these qualities were manifested during the 1,418 days and nights of fighting the fascist hordes.

We are also aware of the significance of this struggle in the liberation of Europe from the fascist yoke and the decisive impact which it had on the establishment of today's powerful socialist community and the new type of international relations.

In describing the immortal exploit of the Soviet people, we pay particular attention to the fact that this was above all a battle between the most aggressive imperialist bourgeoisie and socialism. Socialism passed the test of endurance and won.

Comrade F. Castro pointed out that "the extreme weakness of the combat spirit of bourgeois societies was confirmed in the last world war, whereas the combat spirit of socialism, as represented by the USSR, proved its invincibility. Initially, many people thought that the war would last 3 months, Moscow would fall and everything would happen as it had in other countries. However, nothing of the sort happened. What happened was that after a while the Soviet people reached Berlin and went even beyond it."

In this case we emphasize the significance of the profound and true patriotism of the Russian and other peoples of the USSR, possible only in a socialist society, the high level of international friendship among them and their monolithic moral and political unity as one of the most important gains of socialism.

We particularly note the leading role of the CPSU, which sent to the front 1.5 million of its members and accepted in its ranks more than 5 million soldiers and working people in the rear, who became firm defendants of the cause of communism during the difficult period of the war.

In celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, our people pay their respects to past and present antifascist fighters. We are concentrating our efforts on the dissemination of the basic ideas of the victory celebration among the significant population strata in the Latin American continent, who are still subject to the influence of imperialist propaganda.

The celebration of this anniversary emphasizes the significance of the unity of progressive forces and points out, yet once again, the need to strengthen it with a view to countering the efforts to revive fascism, particularly on our continent.

It enables us to prove yet once against the firm peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, countering the course of the current U.S. administration and the warlike circles in NATO countries, a course of insanely increasing the scale of the arms race and revanchism, which is once again raising its head in the FRG.

Yet another outstanding date triggers profound feelings of international fraternity among the Cuban people.



Cuba and the Soviet Union resumed diplomatic relations on 8 May 1960. Their break had been triggered by a policy of betrayal of national interests, pursued by governments on the service of imperialism. The sovereign and friendly act of 1960 not only marked the resumption of relations between Cuba and the USSR but also laid the beginning of a new fruitful stage in the life of the Cuban people. In February of that year Soviet-Cuban economic relations were resumed.

The past 25 years have been a period of friendship, solidarity, respect and internationalism, which imbue relations between Cuba and the USSR and the other socialist countries. Our people honor the thousands of Soviet and other fraternal specialists who, hand in hand with the Cubans, are building a new society.

We express our gratitude to those who helped us to withstand and develop under the most difficult conditions of the economic structure inherited from the old regime and the strict blockade.

We are particularly grateful to the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries for their decisive support of the efforts of the Cuban people to ensure the country's defense capability for more than a quarter of a century. They helped Cuba to withstand and repel enemy aggression.

Twenty-five years of relations with the Soviet brothers and the other socialist countries are the specific consequence of the great victory over fascism in 1945. The very existence and development of socialist Cuba would have been impossible without the sacrifice of 20 million Soviet lives on the altar of victory, without the victorious ending of the war, without the support of the Red Army by the people working in the rear, without the struggle for freedom waged by the patriots in other countries and without the subsequent appearance and strengthening of the powerful socialist community.

All of this proves the importance to international political relations and contemporary history of the victory won 40 years ago over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism.

The shot fired by the Aurora at the Winter Palace and the red flag with a hammer and sickle waving over the Reichstag symbolize the triumph and invincibility of socialism and the immortality of the great doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

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## ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE GREAT VICTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 115-118

[Review by Aviation Marshal A. Yefimov, Twice Hero of the Soviet Union, USSR deputy minister of defense, commander in chief of the air force, of the book "Velikaya Otechestvennaya Voyna 1941-1945. Entsiklopediya" [The Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. An Encyclopedia]. Army General M. M. Kozlov, editor in chief. Editors: Yu. Ya. Barabash, P. A. Zhilin (deputy editor in chief), V. I. Kanatov (responsible secretary) and others.. Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, Moscow, 1985, 832 illustrated pages and 35 pp of illustrations]

[Text] The encyclopedia "Velikaya Otechestvennaya Voyna 1941-1945," published by Izdatel'stvo Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya and the USSR Ministry of Defense Military History Institute, was timed for the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people over the fascist aggressors and Japanese militarism. The personnel of the General Staff Military Academy, the Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin, the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History, the USSR Central Statistical Administration and a number of other scientific institutions participated in its compilation. This fundamental work recreates the events of the most complex period in Soviet history, characterized by the struggle waged by the entire Soviet people and its armed forces, under the leadership of the communist party, for the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland and against fascist Germany and its allies. The encyclopedia will help the broad readership circles, Soviet and foreign, to understand more profoundly the nature of the socioeconomic, political and military problems of that time.

One of the merits of this book is the comprehensive consideration of the most important problems and the close interconnection between social and military problems. The encyclopedia opens with a brief military-political essay in which the main military events, the participation of the Soviet people and its armed forces in the struggle against the enemy and the role of the USSR in the international arena are reflected.

The ideological linchpin of the encyclopedia is the leadership of the communist party, which created the necessary unity between front and rear.

By party and government decree, Supreme Command Headquarters was established on the second day of the war. A separate article describes this highest authority in charge of strategic leadership of the USSR armed forces. The reader will find out about the work done by the General Staff not only from the article under the same heading but also from other materials in the book.

Historical-party topics are extensively treated in the encyclopedia. The comprehensive concern shown by the CPSU for strengthening the country's defense capability in the prewar period and, subsequently, the mobilization of all the forces of the Soviet people to repel the enemy invasion, and the enemy's subsequent defeat, are described in the long article entitled "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union." The reader is apprised of all aspects of the party's activities in reorganizing the national economy on a wartime footing, the management of a wartime economy, the creation of labor reserves and the perfecting of Soviet weaponry. This enabled the Soviet Union, which had less steel, coal and petroleum than fascist Germany and its satellites, to increase the production of military ordnance and, at the final stage of combat operations, to gain superiority over the enemy in terms of tanks, airplanes and artillery. The book describes the way the party reorganized the Soviet armed forces, as experience in the war was gained, and educated the army and navy command personnel.

An entire galaxy of Soviet military leaders, who had mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory of the defense of the socialist fatherland, and who made a great contribution to the development of Soviet military science, rose thanks to the party's direct concern for military cadres during the period of severe trials. This played a major role in achieving victory.

Both in this article and in others, such as, for example, "Political Propaganda and Agitation," "Party-Political Work" and "Political Bodies in the Soviet Armed Forces," we find a description of the tremendous purposeful work done by the CPSU to raise the Soviet soldiers and workers in the rear in a spirit of loyalty to the homeland and readiness, at the cost of their lives, to defend the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution and to give international aid to the peoples of Europe and Asia suffering under the yoke of fascist Germany and militaristic Japan.

The articles "Party Construction" and "Party Organizations" describe the reorganization of the party's entire work under the new exceptional conditions. This made it possible to extend the party's influence over the broadest possible masses of Soviet troops and workers in the rear. The same could be said, as a whole, of articles on Komsomol topics. They provide a sufficiently comprehensive idea of Komsomol wartime activities.

In my view, because of the extremely compressed presentation of the material, some of the articles in this cycle suffer from certain schematism. It seems to me that more could be said also of the role played by the military commissars, the deputy commanders for political affairs and the party organizers. The book should have also informed us more fully about the heroism of the young soldiers and the front and the Soviet youth in the rear.

The reader acquires rich historical knowledge and a variety of information on the operations of the Soviet armed forces during the war and the steady perfecting of their organization and ordnance. Articles on all battles and front and front group operations are written in an encyclopedic, strict and precise manner.

The participation of individual large units and formations of the Soviet armed forces in battles and operations is described in numerous articles on this topic. This includes articles on all fronts and armies (including air and tank) which existed and operated during the war. The structure of the articles is standardized. They provide precise information on the formation of fronts (navies), armies (flotillas), corps and divisions, their structure, combat path, awards and honorary titles and information on their command. A list of formations, large units and units particularly distinguished in battles and operations, awarded orders and guard and other honorary titles is provided.

The encyclopedia includes extensive biographic articles on commanders of fronts and armies, front chiefs of staffs and members of military councils of the fronts, weapon and combat materiel designers, the most famous war Heroes of the Soviet Union, all those awarded the title of Twice Hero of the Soviet Union, leaders of the partisan movement, etc.

The reader will obviously be interested in articles on weapons and combat materiel with the help of which the Soviet troops defeated the enemy. For comparison's sake, many of them provide information on the armaments of our allies and enemies (such as, for example, the articles "Artillery Weapons," "Combat Aircraft," "Self-Propelling Artillery Systems" and "Tanks"). Also unquestionably useful are articles on the various Soviet army and navy services which ensured troop and ship supplies, combat equipment and armament repairs ("Breakdown-Rescue Service," "Motor Vehicle Service," "Tank Service," "Food Supply Service," "Fuel Supply Service," and others.

The encyclopedia deals extensively with the partisan movement and its development under the leadership of the communist party. This movement is also described in articles on the individual union republics ("The Partisan Movement in Belorussia," "The Party Movement in Lithuania," and others). The compilers have paid particular attention to the heroic underground in the occupied cities. The names of dozens of organizers and leaders of clandestine activities are given--party and Komsomol members, and nonparty patriots. References to such people are cross-indexed with materials on the respective clandestine organizations. This allows the reader rapidly to find data of interest on the war behind enemy lines. It is true that such articles are of uneven quality (in terms of events, names of participants, etc.). This may be the result of a generally insufficient scientific work on this topic by individual area in the country. As a whole, a convincing broad-scale view is presented of the nationwide struggle against the enemy on occupied territory and the leading role played by the party organizations in it.

Articles on the German-fascist occupation enable the reader to gain a clearer idea of the savage nature of the "New Order" imposed upon the peoples by imperialism in its politically most sinister form.



Information on the liberation of cities by Soviet forces is cross-indexed with articles on the offensive operations of the Soviet army. Data are given on destruction and plunder by the Hitlerites. These sections deal with the scale of the aid given to the population of the victimized cities by the people in the other parts of the country.

A considerable share of the encyclopedia (about 100 articles) deals with the heroic workers in the rear, who supplied the front, the armed forces and the country with everything necessary for the defeat of the fascist aggressors. In our view, the part of the Soviet rear and the heroic toil of workers, kolkhoz members and intellectuals under the slogan of "Everything for the Front and Everything for Victory!" remains still insufficiently covered in literature and awaits their chronicler. This gap is largely filled by the materials in this work.

The data provided in the encyclopedia on voluntary contributions by Soviet citizens to the defense fund and the building of tank columns, aviation squadrons and other combat equipment are another clear proof of the great dedication of the Soviet people and their readiness to sacrifice everything for the sake of the common victory.

The exploit of the Soviet people at the front and the rear is perpetuated in memorials and monuments erected in Soviet cities. We find references to them in the respective sections.

The articles on the union republics offer extensive data comprehensively showing the active participation of all the peoples of the USSR in the struggle against the enemy and the further development and strengthening of socialist international relations during that time.

Great attention is legitimately paid in the encyclopedia to national economic management and planning during the war period. As we know, because of the emergency situation, the USSR Gosplan converted to annual and even quarterly planning. The content of the military economic programs and their trends and objectives and means of obtaining the planned targets are described in detail in the respective articles ("The National Economic Mobilization Plan for the Third Quarter of 1941," "The Military-Economic Plan for the Fourth Quarter of 1941 and for 1942" and others). These plans played a determining role in harnessing the necessary material, financial and labor resources for supplying the front and the rear with everything necessary. Articles on the restructuring and functioning of the monetary system and organizing supplies for the population are of equal interest.

A separate article on "The Economy" deals with the economic activities of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. It substantiates the advantages of the Soviet social system, which ensured not only the political and military but also the economic victory by the USSR over fascist Germany and its satellites.

Although the articles are in strictly alphabetical order, the system and interconnection among all articles can be easily traced in the encyclopedia. The general opening article not only describes the war as a whole and traces

its development by individual periods but, with its references to specific articles on some of the largest operations and the economy, science, art, literature and other areas of life during the war years, indicates the logical structure of the publication and enables the reader to find his way in this entire complex material should he require specific information and related data.

Authors and editors have skillfully arranged in alphabetical order, which is absolutely necessary for the convenient and efficient use of the work, the major topic cycles, easily found by cross-referencing.

The article "The Economy" is the key to information on industrial and not exclusively defense, sectors. Although set in alphabetical order, it is not an ordinary article but a comprehensive one which, in our view, should have been presented separately.

Many of the articles are accompanied by most appropriate bibliographic references. As a rule, this applies to recent and most recent publications of the 1970s and 1980s. In a number of cases even 1984 publications have been included. It is regrettable, however, that the anniversary publications of 1985 could not be included. It would be desirable, in this connection, that subsequently a separate entire bibliographic aid on this topic be published.

At this point, we must point out two summing-up publications dedicated to the unfading exploit of the Soviet people and their armed forces. The book "Velikaya Otechestvennaya Voyna Sovetskogo Soyuza 1941-1945. Kratkaya Istoriya" [The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union 1941-1945. Short History] (B. S. Telpukhovskiy, head editor and head of the group of authors. Voenizdat, Moscow, 1984, 560 pp with illustrations) has come out in a revised and expanded edition. Like the previous editions, this one as well is aimed at the broadest possible circle of readers. The second book is "Velikaya Otechestvennaya Voyna. Voprosy i Otvety" [The Great Patriotic War. Questions and Answers] (P. N. Bobylev, head of the group of authors, Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 430 pp with illustrations). Everything in this book is presented as answers to questions most frequently asked of lecturers, propagandists and teachers. This system makes it possible to explain better the most essential aspects of the Great Patriotic War and its prehistory, results and lessons.

To go back to the encyclopedia, let us note that the additional recommended reading includes large summing-up works as well as individual sources of specific problems (books, articles from different collections and periodicals and, most frequently, works published in VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKOGO ZHURNAL). In a number of cases the references cite the chapters (sections) of books specifically related to the topic. It is worth emphasizing that the reference-bibliographic apparatus is an indication of the standard of excellence of a publication. In this case, it is quite high.

The encyclopedia includes two works which may be taken as addenda. They are a list of operations subsequently described, which immediately follows the introductory article, and a list of the most distinguished units and large units, with which the work ends. In our view, considering the fact that this publication is aimed at the readership at large, they are quite important and,

obviously, unique among publications on the war, for by no means does every reader know the precise name of the operation in which he may be interested. Now, with this list compiled on the basis of the sequence of events, he can find out the year and the month during which one operation or another conducted by the Soviet forces took place, as well as the heading of the article in which it is discussed. Unfortunately, not all front-line operations carried out by the Soviet forces during the war are discussed in the encyclopedia in separate articles. Let us hope that their range will be expanded in the next edition of this work.

As to the list of the most distinguished units and large units, the reason for which it is needed is the following: in this encyclopedia (as well as, incidentally, in the "Sovetskaya Voyennaya Entsiklopediya" [Soviet Military Encyclopedia]) the titles of such articles begin with an honorific title such as "Rezhitskaya Rifle Division," "Vienna Mechanized Corps," etc. Yet not every soldier who served under the command of General I. V. Panfilov in the 316th Rifle Division, and who left the division after being wounded in the Battle for Moscow would know that in August 1944 it was renamed the Rezhitskaya Rifle Division. The soldiers who became the First Soviet Guardsmen, who daringly fought under the command of General I. N. Russiyanov in the 100th Rifle Division, which became the First Guards Rifle Division in September 1941, may not have been members of the division in November 1942, when it became the First Guards Mechanized Corps and, as of May 1945, the Vienna Guards Mechanized Corps. The list is compiled by service of the armed forces and in the order of the number assigned to large units and units. If necessary, one can easily find the "First Guards Mechanized Corps--Vienna Mechanized Corps, 316th SD--Rezhitskaya Rifle Division."

As a whole, this encyclopedia deserves the highest possible rating and can be considered an example for such publications. It will be useful not only to history specialists but also to commanders, political workers, teachers and propagandists--to anyone who, regardless of his profession, is interested in this heroic epoch in Soviet history. The book will actively contribute to the military-patriotic upbringing of young people.

Thus, we have a universal reference work on the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War. It is a particularly noteworthy event in Soviet culture. The universal attention paid to this work and its discussion by various public circles will enable us to shed greater light on its merits, reveal its shortcomings and raise additional questions. In our view, a great and long life awaits this encyclopedia.

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TO FORESEE IN ORDER TO MANAGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 118-121

[Review by Dr of Economic Sciences N. Rimashevskaya of the book "Poiskovoye Sotsialnoye Prognozirovaniye: Perspektivnyye Problemy Obshestva. Opyt Sistematizatsii" [Social Planning Research: Long-Range Social Problems. Systematization Experience] by I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 271 pp]

[Text] Our country has entered the period of practical preparations for the next 27th CPSU Congress, at which a new draft of the party program will be discussed and adopted; means of resolving the most important problems of our society will be earmarked and plans for the economic and social development of the country during the 12th Five-Year Plan and far beyond it will be formulated. The significance of the role of scientific forecasting in general and social forecasting in particular is understandable in this connection.

Recent party documents have noted the need to concentrate the efforts of the social sciences on the constructive development of means and methods of attaining our immediate and long-range objectives, "detect promptly developing trends and act with a sense of greater orientation toward the future, which would enable us to see it better and to make substantiated decisions. The materials of the June 1983 Central Committee Plenum, in particular, emphasize that "scientific developments must become practical recommendations and provide substantiated social forecasts"; "party cadres must be suitably familiar with socioeconomic factors which influence human moods and behavior; they must more closely link ideological work with the struggle for the implementation of key national economic and sociopolitical tasks."

As we know, the drafting of long-range plans for the country's economic and social development now stipulate the formulation of a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress in accordance with its socioeconomic consequences for each future 20-year period, with corresponding 5-year refinements. Based on the party's long-range socioeconomic tasks, and guided by the comprehensive program, the Gosplan formulates the draft basic directions in the country's economic and social development for the next 10 years. It is on this basis that the regular 5-year plan for national economic development and the corresponding annual plans are formulated.



It is obvious that such a procedure for socialist planning, as stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers July 1979 decree "On Improving Planning and Intensifying the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Efficiency and Work Quality" faces forecasting theory and practice with increasingly complex and responsible assignments.

In this context, the recently published monograph by I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, in which socioeconomic problems as the basis for the formulation of corresponding forecasts are considered on the theoretical and practical levels, is of particular interest.

The relevance of this work is that it is an attempt to sum up the complete theoretical experience acquired over the past 20-30 years in the study of social forecasting on the general methodological basis of Marxist-Leninist scientific forecasting, which is the opposite of the numerous and conflicting concepts of bourgeois futurology. The author formulates a number of personal theoretical concepts of a constructive methodical nature, including views on problems which continue to be the subject of scientific discussions. As a whole, in our view, this attempt deserves a positive rating.

The book is divided into two parts. The strictly theoretical part discusses in detail the characteristics and logic of forecasting research, the nature and specifics of the social problem (with which, essentially, it deals), the objectively developed system of social problems and the one suggested by the author and, finally, methodological aspects of forecasting problem situations. The second part is more of an applied nature. It covers long-term social problems of universal and general national importance, including social structure and enhanced requirements, social organization and management, social structure of time and living environment, labor, family and way of life, public education and culture.

The starting stipulation according to which the logical "product" of forecast research is not simply an expected status of the target of the study but the expected problem status deserves prime attention. It is precisely this approach which leads us to the formulation of forecasts for detecting and refining long-range problems and puts forecasting in the service of management, enabling us to obtain the type of forecasting data for use by planning and economic bodies, the significance of which would be difficult to overestimate. Should long-range problems arise, related, let us assume, to the growth of cities or the increased number of divorces, the managing bodies are given "food for thought" relative to the possible and necessary measures which could optimize the development of the corresponding process and change detected trends.

Research forecasting, the author of the monograph claims (quite justifiably, in our view) is based on the "problem" category, conceived as a specific gap between wish and reality. The ripening of problems is a natural, a legitimate process in social development. A "lack of problems" in social development is as much nonsense as the notorious "lack of conflict" in literature. The heart of the matter is how and at what cost they can be resolved and how to prevent

the excessive gap between wish and reality by taking effective and timely steps. Here we come back to the old formula that anticipating means managing.

The origin and structure of a social problem as such are the base for the classification of real social problems and the structuring of the "problem tree" as the logical pivot for their systematizing. This brings to light the characteristics of problems analysis as a specific variety of systems analysis and enables us to study the long-term development of problem situations and ways which prevent the growth of a problem situation into a critical situation. It is quite important that, in this connection, the author relies on specific data on social problems of Soviet society contained in the materials of the latest party congresses (regrettably, he has ignored a crucial problem, such as improving the health of the population, repeatedly formulated in party documents).

All of this represents a significant step forward in the development of the theory of social forecasting. However, in our view, the interpretation of theoretical problems would have been much more convincing by providing a fuller definition of excessively general concepts such as "problem situation," "critical situation," etc. We know that each such situation ripens, i.e., undergoes a number of essentially different stages. To belittle the significance of such differences, not to mention to ignore them, means to impoverish the content of forecasting research and to lower its efficiency in terms of issuing management recommendations.

Here is another remark. The author properly notes that the essential difference between current and long-term problems has been made so far, more or less consistently, only in the area of economic forecasting, whereas in other areas, including forecasting and sociological research, no similar formulation of the question exists. However, the criterion for such demarcation he suggests, based on the level of the study of means of resolving current and long-term problems, does not appear entirely convincing and is not always consistent in the work. Clearly, this requires further theoretical work.

In the second part of the monograph, where long-term social problems are interpreted directly, we find less successful the specific consideration of global contemporary problems. It is true that the task itself--presenting in a few pages the entire complexity of this problem--is exceptionally difficult. One can only assume that, in writing his book, the author tried somehow to "indicate" such an important aspect, at a time when no more than a few articles on this topic had been written in our country. By the time the manuscript had become a book and had reached the reader, however, serious monographs had been published in which global problems were considered much more completely. We believe that it would be expedient to single out the strictly social aspect.

The consideration of the long-term social problems of Soviet society is more meaningful. The author concentrates on very serious, although familiar disproportions in the production structure: the growing scarcity of manpower (incidentally, largely explained by the imperfect nature of the existing economic mechanism) in some public production sectors and parts of the

country, and their equally growing "surplus" in other sectors and regions. The problem situation which arises here (as in other areas) will not be resolved by itself but requires energetic intervention in the management area. The materials of the latest party Central Committee plenums prove that a solution is possible. It is true that one of the author's conclusions is hardly accurate: "...It is necessary to learn to value (i.e., to perfect the moral incentives for) unskilled and underskilled labor, which is becoming increasingly scarce...." (pp 159-160). In our view, the task is not to nurture this type of labor but to do everything possible to minimize its volume until it has been totally eliminated.

We must point out the author's efforts to distinguish between the "accumulation" trend (exceeding sensible needs in purely quantitative terms) and "consumerism" (converting low-level requirements into a self-seeking aim, into something similar to the meaning of life) and, above all, to distinguish between strictly need and pseudoneed. It is regrettable, however, that does not subsequently identify the latter sufficiently, for a clear theoretical position on such problems is the base of the social influence on shaping needs.

In the light of the large-scale nationwide socioeconomic experiments currently under way on the application of the brigade contracting order, total cost accounting and perfecting management, a review of the further development of socialist collectivism on the basis of the implementation of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism assumes particular importance. The author accurately emphasizes that bureaucratism, red tape and formalism (he should have added departmentalism and parochialism) are the main obstacles in resolving the problem situation which is developing here, and that the comprehensive broadening of the rights and obligations of labor collectives (collective formulation of decisions on the implementation of plans and collective responsibility for the success or failure of implementations) are the most realistic ways of upgrading social production efficiency.

The expected changes in terms of the ratio and content of working and leisure time by the various groups of working people is justifiably considered in the monograph in connection with the long-range problems of the social time structure as a whole. The concept of the differentiated approach to the solution of this entire social problem developed by the author (and not by him alone) deserves full support, above all taking into consideration the interests of working mothers with small children and people of retirement age, who can and are willing to continue to work on the basis of a shorter work week.

It is not astounding that in studies of the problems of the social living environment, the author gives priority to optimizing the processes of the location and deployment of the country's production forces. Many years have passed since the time of stormy debates on the issue of the "optimal city," the "agrocit," etc. The discussions have gone their own way but the problem remains and demands a resolution ever more urgently. Optimizing such deployment invariably includes the question of improving contemporary housing, on the one hand, and the efficient use of the environment, the optimal



combination of private with public transportation and individual and publicly organized recreation, on the other.

In considering long-range social problems of labor, the author supports the thesis of the need for major improvements in its organization and incentive. His main thought is that not only perfecting material incentives (payments based on end products brought to the consumer) and not only the assertion of the creative nature of labor processes (which, for the time being, cannot be done for everyone) but also the comprehensive enhancement of the social significance of labor in the most important public production sector, and effective methods, for the high moral assessment of such work on the part of society offer a comprehensive solution to the problem situation developing in this area.

The author pays particular attention to the problem of upgrading the efficiency of scientific work in connection with the need to convert from the extensive to the intensive development of science.

In our view, the long-range problems of the family and way of life have been formulated most interestingly in the book. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first time in Soviet literature that an effort is made to bring together numerous theoretical principles governing the energizing of a demographic policy, aimed at hindering processes such as the increased number and percentage of unmarried people between the ages of 25 and 35, the increased number of divorces (per 100 marriages) and the "sliding" toward an average of a single child per family, which cannot ensure normal population reproduction. This is also a first attempt at systematizing more than 30 specific steps in the area of demographic policy, developed by Soviet specialists (including the author) and in a number of fraternal socialist countries, for it is only the comprehensive use of all such measures which could yield tangible results. At the same time, however, one should bear in mind that some of them are controversial.

In his consideration of social problems in the area of developing cultural institutions, based on all 12 basic types, the author expresses a number of constructive views based on the special studies of the problem found in books, periodicals, newspapers, radio and television, cinematography and theater, clubs, museums, libraries, culture parks and sports-tourist sites.

We are puzzled by the lack of studies of the long-range problems of the further development of social life and surmounting familiar antisocial phenomena, which was clearly indicated in this context. Whereas problems of the first kind are still partially reflected, the author simply ignores problems, such as uprooting crime and alcoholism, and the so-called unorganized production and consumption redistribution (the notorious "black markets" and others). This is unjustified in terms of social forecasting.

These isolated remarks do not detract from the overall positive assessment of this work. Unquestionably, it will be read with interest not only by specialists in forecasting but also by a broader circle of social scientists and party, soviet and economic workers, for this book is, one could say, at the "cutting edge" of Marxist-Leninist social science. It is important and



needed today. It would be pleasing to see similar works in the areas of the study of scientific and technical, economic, state-legal, political and other forecasting sectors.

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## BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY IN THE NUCLEAR CENTURY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 121-124

[Review by Academician B. Kedrov of the book "Novoye Myshleniye v Yadernyy Vek" [New Way of Thinking in the Nuclear Century] by A. N. Gromyko and V. Lomeyko. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1984, 296 pp]

[Text] Some works on international topics leave an indefinite impression, if at all. In this case, after reading this book one feels that it is out of the ordinary. It would be difficult to define its nature simply. Is it strictly scientific or journalistic? Could it be literary-artistic? It is all of them. The authors, who are noted international affairs experts, act, as they admit themselves, in three professional qualities: as scientists, journalists and diplomats. Rich practical experience and profound knowledge, combined with a vast range of personal impressions garnered from trips, meetings and talks have led to the need to consider and interpret the world in which we live and to share with a broad audience considerations on the most important problem of our time: how will mankind live under the conditions of a nuclear threat?

Yes, unfortunately, nuclear weapons have become a reality of our time, from which no one can escape as long as it exists. The danger existing in the nuclear century is great. This does not mean, however, that the people must resignedly await nuclear destruction. As the authors metaphorically write, "one could find Ariadne's thread which will lead mankind outside the labyrinth of nuclear doom into the world of reason, trust and cooperation" (p 282). This requires, above all, to adopt a new way of thinking in international affairs. This interesting book describes precisely what such new thinking presumes, and the responsibility of every individual and, above all, by political leaders, scientists and military for the fate of the world and by those who thoughtlessly cling to the worn-out concepts and doctrines of the past, usable only as scrap.

The authors point out that, filled with concern for the good of their people and all mankind, the CPSU and the Soviet government are systematically guided by a new type of thinking in their approach to the solution of the global problems of our time and in the struggle for the elimination of the nuclear threat hanging over our earth. The need to put an end to the arms race and to

establish a new economic order and to unify international efforts for the protection of the environment has been repeatedly emphasized at our party congresses and in the speeches of party and state leaders. It has been reflected in the proposals submitted by our country in the United Nations and other international fora.

A sober approach and realism in the assessment of the international situation are inherent in the new system, which socialism is. That is precisely why we are not only not depressed by the new way of thinking but, conversely, it objectively contributes to the solution of our main problems in the areas of building communism and the struggle for peace. Matters are different in the West, where everything is subordinated to the interests of capital and where most politicians and scientists are either unable or unwilling to take a new look at the world. Their world concept is still dominated by the old approach from the position of force and threat. "It would seem," the authors write, "that common sense itself should make the United States and its NATO allies reassess the foreign policy concepts and doctrines by which they have been guided ever since the atom bomb was created. Actually, however...the basic foreign policy concept of the Western world in postwar times has remained unchanged: the philosophy of force or threat (footnote--in this case the term "philosophy" is used in a typically Western interpretation--as a general social theory). It is the base for the practice of the arms race conducted by international, American above all, imperialism" (p 29).

The authors identify the sources of the "philosophy of deterrence," and the reasons for which the nuclear stick was able to assume a leading position in the arsenal of the United States as the world policeman. Blind nationalism, combined with unlimited faith in power and with the absence of a sober understanding of the nature of war, multiplied by aggressiveness and the aspiration to hegemony, expansion, diktat and blackmail inherent in capitalism as a whole, are the components of the platform on which the doctrine of deterrence is built. The book describes the transformation of the concept of deterrence in the various periods of postwar history. The authors do not go into a variety of details or historical foreshortenings. They are interested above all in the psychological and, naturally, the political aspects. In providing substantiated criticism and proving the faultiness and irrationality of such "philosophy," the authors reach the conclusion that "a close consideration of the concept of deterrence, without its layer of scientific significance, makes its contradictory and unconvincing nature striking" (p 43).

The "philosophy of deterrence" has been frequently shuffled. One such shuffle was the attempt to accuse the Soviet Union of aggressive intentions and to ascribe it primacy in the arms race. Citing numerous facts and proofs, the authors show that the arms race has never taken place on USSR initiative. "In the arms marathon the USSR has never tried to take the lead. It has only tried not to fall behind, for to it parity, in the full meaning of the term, is a vitally important principle, and a guarantee of peace and security for itself and its allies and friends. Meanwhile, the United States has initiated the arms race at each new period of time, either under the pretext of catching up or under the frank slogan of regaining military-strategic superiority" (p 55).

Politics is made by specific individuals. Based on this simple truth, naturally, the authors could not fail to assess those who have or, at least, claim to have their own viewpoint on American strategy and, occasionally, even try to shape it. The entire gallery of American and other Western political leaders of all colors and hues are lined up for viewing by the readers, starting with Truman and Dulles. This includes John Kennedy, who called for putting an end to the "drought of ideas" in U.S. policy, W. Rostow, his loyal henchman, J. Luns, the former NATO boss, retired General R. Claus, the Belgian senator, E. Rostow, who has headed at different times the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, E. Rawnny, and P. Nitze, described by the authors as "foxes in a chicken coop," and other members of the U.S. military-political elite. This includes learned men in their complete political variety, such as R. Strauss-Huppe, George Kennan, S. Possony, J. Purnell, F. Holiday and others. Books, articles, personal encounters and talks, memoirs.... The authors have gone through a tremendous amount of data which they have sifted to show, as the saying goes, "who's who" in American politics and "who's for what."

The military-industrial complex of imperialism is trying to take mankind to the nuclear precipice. However, the authors do not intend in the least to accept the inevitability of this course of events. On the contrary, they show the optimism of people who are confident in the realistic possibility of attaining set objectives and the ability of mankind to stop the madness of the nuclear race. "This is what the socialist countries call for. This is what an increasing number of developing countries are talking about. This is demanded by the growing peace movement. Although it is still too early to speak of all mankind, the process of insight has begun" (p 50). "Marxist-Leninist science," the authors write further, "asserts an optimistic attitude toward the future. This is not fake cheerfulness or put-on optimism but a scientifically substantiated faith in the need and possibility of transforming the world and international relations through the conscious activities of the people, with a view to ensuring the most favorable conditions for human life and progress" (p 145).

Nuclear war means catastrophe. Strangely enough, this needs to be proved to this day. To say the least, the shock which the film "The Day After..." caused in the West was no fiction but reality. The new and convincing materials brought forth in the book on the possible consequences of nuclear war are added to the efforts of scientists and political personalities, who warn of the inadmissibility of unleashing a nuclear war.

The authors point out that few people in the West today dare openly to think in nuclear war categories. However, the arms race, which is assigned a priority place in the doctrine of deterrence, is no less an evil. It aggravates the other global problems and hinders their solution. That is why the "new way of thinking in the nuclear century also presumes an awareness of the priority of new problems and the search for ways to resolve them" (p 164).

The need for such a solution is becoming increasingly crucial with every passing year. The drought in Africa is a disaster! Mass hunger has spread over entire countries. The authors cite the following figures: every year, 50 million people throughout the world die of hunger and 800 million live in



absolute poverty. Twelve million of the 125 million children who were born in 1978 died before the age of 1, and 21 million suffer from hypertrophia (i.e., their weight does not reach 2.5 kilograms) (see pp 169-171).

The arms race and the unfair economic order which developed under the diktat of industrially developed Western countries, and the hunger business in which Western dealers are engaged are the real reason for the most grave problems affecting Asian, African and Latin American countries. "All such problems," the authors reemphasize, "can be resolved only by hindering and, subsequently, terminating the arms race...." Just think: in 1982 mankind spent more than \$650 billion in the arms race, which is more than the entire income of 1.5 billion people living in the 50 poorest countries. These are eloquent figures! (see p 185).

Equally fraught with severe consequences, the authors note, is the problem of environmental protection and maintaining the ecological system. In his time, Marx wrote that "the physical and spiritual life of man is inseparably related to nature. This means nothing other than that nature is inseparably linked with itself, for man is part of nature" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 42, p 92). Preserving this unity and preventing the destruction of nature and, as a consequence, the doom of mankind, and ending the influencing of nature for military purposes and abandoning nuclear tests are the imperatives of the present and demonstrations of responsibility for the fate of future generations. These are the requirements of the new way of thinking in the nuclear century.

The arms race, the growing inequality between the living standards of developed and developing countries and ecological problem are metaphorically described by the authors as "three delayed-action bombs" which should be defused before it is too late (see pp 211-212). This makes so crucial the question of the need to formulate a strategy for the survival of mankind. This strategy and way of thinking should not be merely formulated. They must become a guide for every person, for every responsible political leader, for all countries if they are willing to surmount through joint efforts the future dangers threatening mankind. In other words, the new way of thinking should conquer the masses and become a material force. This process has already begun and "finds its brilliant confirmation in the growing antiwar movement" (p 214). The authors make a profound study of the origins, nature and content of the current stage in the movement of the peoples against the nuclear threat and the growing impact of this movement on global politics.

The fate of the world depends on the way relations between the countries belonging to the two opposite systems will be structured. That is why the only sensible formula for such relations is the policy of peaceful coexistence. "This policy," the authors emphasize, "is equally beneficial to all members of the human community, for it ensures peace and security and creates prerequisites for economic and cultural cooperation among countries" (p 255). The aspiration in the West to explain the social changes occurring in the world not in terms of objective reasons but of some "interference by the socialist countries" is one of the gravest dangers facing the contemporary world.

"As a principled opponent of war as a means of imposing beliefs by force (which does not exclude the right to defend them), the USSR rejects the policy of military confrontation and favors a policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems" (pp 226-227). Awareness of the other aspect of this reality would be the new type of thinking which is so greatly necessary in order to organize fruitful international cooperation today.

The philosophy of survival should be such as actively to counter the "philosophy of deterrence." The authors consider this the main task in the struggle for the assertion of a new way of thinking in world politics: a global thinking, for the problems which face mankind are global in nature. Mankind's wisdom and salvation rest on the inevitable triumph of reason.

Faith in the inevitable victory of reason was and remains one of the main pillars of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the authors conclude. "Reason in world history will nevertheless win," Marx claimed (op. cit., vol 15, p 569). Faith in the power of reason, which counters the forces of madness and war, imbues the entire approach of the CPSU and the international communist movement in resolving the global problems of our time, including the gravest among them--the prevention of nuclear catastrophe.

This book makes fast reading. It truly excites and forces one to think. This convincingly proves the unusual nature of this work and the fact that its authors have successfully carried out their assignment.

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## FROM THE HISTORY OF THE COLLAPSE OF FASCISM IN ITALY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 124-125

[Review by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Trupnikov of the book "Fashizm, Neofashizm i Antifashistskaya Borba v Italii" [Fascism, Neofascism and Antifascist Struggle in Italy] by G. S. Filatov. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 381 pp]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General History have prepared for publication this collection of the works of one of the leading Soviet specialists in most recent Italian history, Dr of Historical Sciences G. S. Filatov (1923-1982).

The publication of this book on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the collapse of the members of the fascist axis, headed by Hitlerite Germany, and of the great holiday of the liberation of the peoples of Europe from the brown plague is quite timely. The studies made by G. S. Filatov of the history of the establishment and collapse of Italian fascism are a valuable contribution to the study of the problems of World War II and to the interpretation of its profoundly instructive lessons which have not lost their relevance with time.

Although concentrating quite legitimately their main attention on the course of the struggle waged by the Soviet Union, the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition and all peoples of Europe against fascist Germany and on its defeat, occasionally historians as though unwittingly leave aside the role which the "corporate state" of Mussolini--the first fascist dictatorship in history--which was established in Italy a decade earlier than in Germany--played in the outbreak of this worldwide imperialist slaughter. The importance of this fact should not be belittled or underestimated. To begin with, as the author justifiably points out, the "Italian experiment" helped to a large extent and essentially to establish the criminal alliance between Nazism and the leading groups of German financial capital. "In Germany, the monopoly circles of which had seen the experiment of fascist Italy, this process developed considerably faster" (p 43). Secondly, we should not ignore the fact that this loyal satellite of Hitlerite Germany in the Apennine Mountains not only obediently followed in the fairway of Berlin's policy and gave it substantial

support, but frequently itself initiated aggressive adventures and seizures, which pushed mankind toward world war.

The book under review includes a number of fundamental studies made by G. S. Filatov which, on the basis of rich factual and, above all, archive data, reveal the nature and specific features of Italian fascism, its ruling methods and means for the manipulation of the masses, and the adventurism and cynicism of Mussolini's foreign and domestic policies. Unquestionably, the highest point in the section of the collection entitled "Italian Fascism and Its Collapse" is the work "The Routing of the Italian Expeditionary Army on the Soviet-German Front." The total military fiasco of the Italian army in the Don steppes was the turning point on the way to the fast collapse of the fascist regime in Rome, as Mussolini's "Eastern Campaign" ended infamously as early as the start of 1943. In less than 2 months (from 11 December 1942 to 31 January 1943) the Italian army on this front lost in killed, wounded and prisoners 60 percent of its officer and 43 percent of its rank-and-file forces and its entire artillery and motor transport and actually stopped existing (see p 97). As officials reported to Rome, the routing of the Italian forces on the Soviet-German front had yet another quite important political aspect: "Many people admired the combat qualities of the Soviet army.... Many were particularly amazed at the achievements of the Soviet regime." It is thus that the phenomenon of "war antifascism" appeared, which the author analyzed extensively, emphasizing that soldiers and officers who had returned from the "Eastern Front" in the spring of 1943, that same autumn became soldiers and officers in guerrilla detachments which launched a heroic struggle against the fascist forces in their homeland.

The author convincingly proves that the defeat of Mussolini's expeditionary corps and the subsequent victories won by the Soviet army were not only a powerful catalyst for the breakdown of the fascist regime but also stimulated the activeness of the people's opposition to fascism, intensified within it the features of a class struggle for social liberation.

The study of the resistance movement was one of the leading trends in G. S. Filatov's scientific writings. In a large body of works on this topic, some of which have been included in the collection in the section "The Struggle Against Fascism and for Democratic Italy," the author recreated the broad and vitally fruitful panoramic view of the people's opposition to fascism. His successful and reliable study of the complex problems of the Italian resistance movement were largely due to the fact that the author, who was a member of the Allied Commission for Italy, worked in Rome during the first postwar years and met and became friends with many partisan leaders and had the possibility of studying documents and witness testimony. Without any attempt at "correcting" the history of the antifascist struggle in Italy, the author has brought to light the leading role of the communists in the struggle for national liberation, their unquestionable reputation among the masses and the total support given the communists by the working class, which was the main force in the resistance movement. It is precisely these essential features of the antifascist struggle in Italy which bourgeois and reformist ideologues and politicians have always tried to suppress and distort.



We read with unabated interest about the participation of Soviet citizens, who had escaped from Hitlerite camps, in the Italian partisan movement. During the war some 5,000 Soviet people fought in that movement, 425 of whom lost their lives for the liberation of Italy (see P 267), cementing through joint struggle the ties of proletarian internationalism linking the Italian with the Soviet working people.

Two other noteworthy facets of G. S. Filatov's scientific legacy should be mentioned. First of all, in turning from specific historical studies to theoretical summations, the author tackles complex problems, such as the typology of fascist regimes, bringing to light the correlation between the general and the specific in their mechanisms and methods of rule, the class nature of fascism and its social base. This is related to his close analysis of the views of A. Gramsci and P. Togliatti on said problems. However, the author's theoretical conclusions do not stop with the past. Through his studies, G. S. Filatov proves that fascism is not only history and that it could reappear in new modifications and forms at the present stage of the deepening general crisis in capitalism. It is no accident that in the final years of his life G. S. Filatov dealt in many of his works with the reasons for the appearance of neofascism in Italy, its role in the imperialist "strategy of tension," and the study of the struggle waged by the Italian democratic forces against the neofascist menace.

Secondly, the author's desire to bring to the broadest possible circle of readers the truth of the savage aspect of fascism and to describe the heroes of the antifascist struggle forced him to become a publicist. He wrote a number of historical documentary essays, in a vivid and good literary style, which are also included in the book. They include exposures of the bosses of fascist Italy and, which is particularly impressive, a gallery of unforgettable shining characters of the heroes of the resistance.

The noted Italian scientist G. Rosca described G. S. Filatov as "one of the most prestigious Soviet historians and best-known Russian specialist in contemporary Italian history." As confirmation of this assessment, many of G. S. Filatov's works have been translated in Italy.

One can confidently say that G. S. Filatov's works will lead a long and active life, for today's problems and the prospects of the political struggle in Italy cannot be understood and properly assessed without a profound knowledge and understanding of the history of fascism and the antifascist struggle.

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## SHORT BOOK REVIEW

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[Text] A. S. Kapto. "Klassovoye Vospitaniye: Metodologiya, Teoriya, Praktika" [Class Education: Methodology, Theory, Practice]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 416 pp. Reviewed by A. Frolov.

The education of the new man and the shaping of a historical type of personality is not only the objective but the prerequisite for the building of socialism and communism. The most important methodological principle of communist upbringing is the class approach, reliance on the leading role of the working class and the power of its social example. The growing generations must be raised in the image and likeness of the best, the progressive representatives of the contemporary revolutionary working class. A. S. Kapto's book deals with the theoretical and practical aspects of this most important task.

According to Lenin, the working class is an intellectual and moral engine, a physical converter of capitalism to socialism (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 73). Taking this concept as a base, the author of the book under review emphasizes that the wedge of class upbringing should be aimed at directing the energy of all the members of socialist society to the solution of problems which contribute to the definitive triumph of this historical mission of the working class.

Unfortunately, he points out, of late the very concept of "class upbringing" is infrequently encountered in philosophical and pedagogical publications. Yet any attempts at somehow belittling the class, the party approach to education and to proclaim it "one-sided" and "obsolete" are nothing other than the direct or indirect promotion of bourgeois ideology and morality.

A. S. Kapto subjects to substantiated criticism the bourgeois concept of "educational pluralism" which is presented in bourgeois society as the embodiment of "spiritual freedom" and "true democracy." In fact, however, this concept, which reflects the splintering of bourgeois forms of ideology and morality into various groups and trends, contributes to the consolidation of the antagonistic socioclass structure of society. True unity in education

on the scale of the entire society and its unity of objectives and means and methods are possible only under socialist conditions and are based on a principled class foundation.

The working class--the most revolutionary social class--acts not only as the destroyer of the old but, above all, as a constructive force. Its world outlook, ideology and morality are not a simple patch on the immediately conditions of its life but necessarily presume the mastery of all superior accomplishments of world culture. The author pays great attention to the moral values of the working class, emphasizing its daring, decisiveness, organization, confidence in the future and in its own forces, firmness, endurance, activeness and the active-transforming nature of its morality. Under socialist conditions, this is the base for the shaping of universal and truly human moral qualities in the working people, such as worker honor, worker pride and worker conscience.

A class upbringing sharpens class awareness and the self-awareness of the individual and the adoption of a class approach to all phenomena in social life. The need for its intensification under contemporary conditions is dictated by the aggravated struggle between the two world systems in the fields of economics, politics and ideology.

The education of the new person has its material foundation in the progressive changes occurring in the socioeconomic area and the establishment of a classless structure in developed socialist society. The leading trend in this process is not the reduction or disappearance of the best features of the working class but their further development and intensification. Therefore, the definitive and comprehensive assertion in all realms of social life of the revolutionary ideology and morality of the working class leads to social homogeneity. The continuing and purposeful impact exerted by the working class on all strata in socialist society, in accordance with its economic interests, dialectical-materialistic outlook and sociopolitical and moral-aesthetic ideals, is the linchpin, the nucleus of communist upbringing, which is taking place under the leadership of the Leninist party and with the most active participation of social and governmental institutions.

On this basis, the author dedicates a significant percentage of his book to specific contemporary problems of education, upbringing, and the study of the class aspects of labor, political, patriotic and international upbringing, and to problems of shaping the moral consciousness and aesthetic taste and developing durable atheistic convictions. In the course of shaping the new man, the class principle merges with the national principle which it expresses. It does not dissolve itself within it but enriches it with conceptual, political and moral values embodied by the working class.

The book by A. S. Kapto offers the readers an interesting and thorough study of the class nature of education.

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#### BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 85 (signed to press 29 Apr 85) pp 126-128

[Text] 1. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 23 Aprelya 1985 Goda" [Materials of the 23 April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 31 pp.

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